175 size of Alabama supports more than twice that state's population. But
[131] Greece has considerably less economic wealth. For instance, only about
[161] 25 percent of the land is arable. We see a people which in a fifty-year period
has been able to survive five wars, including an exhausting civil war, at
[311] least two catastrophic population displacements, several violent earthquakes, and chronic droughts. Although it is a long span between Periclean Athens and the Greece which is the keystone of the Eastern Mediterranean NATO group, the Greeks, despite their repeated crises, seem to have gained in the strength to keep alive their vital spirit.

101 Every Greek stands out so distinctly as an individual that he defies easy
location along the social spectrum. Is it the fierceness of the struggle to
184 survive that has produced the sharply outlined individualism of the Greeks?
[156] Despite these marked individual differences, the Greeks can be sorted into
three general groupings: the city Greeks, the seafaring Greeks, and the
[181] rural Greeks.[2] Each group, though sharing much in common, has a somewhat different orientation in its style of life. Each still depends upon the other two for the realization of its national destiny, and each adds its own color to the rainbow quality of contemporary Greek society.

The largest group, and the one least known, is that of the rural Greeks, the chief subject of this book. But this group cannot be understood out of its social context or without sketching in the outlines of the other two groups — the Greeks who live in cities and the Greeks who live by and on the sea.

THE CITY GREEK

175 Greek history shows that the Greek has traditionally been a child of the
●369 city. In antiquity he developed the city-state and he colonized through
cities, not through the homestead on some developing frontier. Today, two
[167] thousand years later, Greek peasants coming to America directly from a
village take up a trade in a city with much greater alacrity than they take
up farming.[3] Behind this feeling at home in the city, which seems to exist in
[829] most Greeks (but most strongly, of course, in the settled urban classes), there is a fact of historic importance: the Greeks learned early that the city had a social organization all its own and that from the city radiated lines of economic, political, and religious authority. They knew that those who understood the city could manipulate these lines.[4] Thus armed, they were able to keep in advance of their neighbors to such an extent that, when the seminomadic Turks captured the Greek capital (Constantinople) in 1453, the conquered Greeks quickly moved into places of prominence and power in the conqueror's regime. Consequently, the Greeks through the years have become increasingly experienced in the arts of social administration and economic dealing in an urban setting. Every event or possible event had its "angle" to be weighed judiciously and then energetically exploited.

[The City Greek]

An additional resource of the city Greek after the fall of the Byzantine 175
Empire was the respect which other peoples paid to Greek cultural tradi- 177
tions. The city Greek could rest at times on the laurels of his ancestors, or
he could command a situation by assuming superiority based on the glory 186
of his past. Furthermore, when days looked darkest, from late in the eight- 369
eenth century on down, he could count on the support of classic-minded
benefactors of the Western world. There remained also the implication of
the term *barbarian* for the non-Greek; this did not die out with ancient
Greece but continued to apply to other Balkan Christian groups which the
city Greek assiduously tried to Hellenize. The city was dominant here, too, [793]
for this Hellenization proceeded outward from the city. The contact point
was usually the Greek priest, with his loyalty to the urban Byzantine tradition, in a Slavic, Vlach, or Albanian village before the rise of national churches in the Balkans during the last century.[5]

This, then, is the proud and rich tradition of the contemporary city 369
Greek — a tradition kept alive by the schools, the church, and by the ad- 186
miration of many non-Greek scholars seeking to trace the origin of Western democracy to its pristine source in the pre-Christian Greek city-state.

Also helping to keep the tradition alive are the few leisured families, 184
some of whom have highly placed relatives scattered throughout the conti-
nent of Europe, as well as the growing intelligentsia and the merchants for 186
whom the city is a natural habitat. Even the urban laborer, whether a 369
skilled worker in a textile plant or an unskilled hod carrier on a construc-
tion project, has many of the same traits as the members of the middle and 565
upper classes: in his cafés and *tavernas,* the worker reveals the same zest 571
for life as well as some of the same preoccupations with his daily lot. Yet members of the new intelligentsia, Athenian politicians, and businessmen still have many relatives in the provinces with whom they are in frequent contact and to whom city ways are steadily spreading.

The city Greek's supreme self-confidence, arising out of these traditions 369
of power and glory, is shown in almost any discussion overheard at the cafés 521
where the Greek urbanite meets his friends to argue about anything and
everything.[6] His gestures are as eloquent as his words, as Robert P. T. Cof- [275]
fin said so well in his poem, "Greek Hands Are the Greek": [201]

Greek hands are tongues,
They are tails of dogs;
They are also Plato's
Dialogues.[7]

Completely sure that his ideas on public questions are as sound as those 369
of any cabinet minister or newspaper editor, the city Greek takes great 829
pleasure in expounding these ideas.[8] An incident of half a century ago, at
the time of the Russo-Japanese War, is still told with amusement by Athe- [195]

[The City Greek]

369 829 195 nians. According to the story, a man reading his newspaper at a café table was studying the battle plans and maps of the Russian command. The more he studied the newspaper details of the Russian army lines, the more excited he became, until he finally called out a warning to the Russian general half a world away in these classic words, "More to the right, Koropotkin! More to the right!" This phrase is repeated with a smile by one Athenian to another when he wants to imply that the other is passing judgment on something a little — but only a little — out of his field of competence. 369 829 As a matter of fact, a multitude of anecdotes told by city Greeks about themselves swarm into memory. One way of gaining an insight into the Greek mind is to listen to these stories.

The Greek shows pride in his intellectual curiosity by relating the tale of the Greek walking along a Paris street with a French friend. The Greek in the excitement of a discussion of nationality traits boasted that he could identify any Greek who came down the street. To the Frenchman this seemed impossible in such a cosmopolitan city as Paris.

"Let us wait here for a few minutes and I will find the Greeks for you," said the Athenian, who thereupon began to twist his cane into a nearby wall as though he were boring a hole. Many people passed by without paying any attention, when all of a sudden one man stopped to observe this strange behavior. He looked at the cane, the small hole, and at the man turning the cane as though trying to figure out the reason for the procedure. The Greek with the cane asked, "Are you Greek?" "Yes, I am," said the inquisitive passerby. "What are you doing with that cane?" The performance with the cane was repeated and after an interval a second man — of course, another Greek — stopped to observe. This was enough to convince the Frenchman of his Greek friend's ability to discover his fellow countrymen by tickling their curiosity.

This intellectual curiosity has its other side, too. One Greek social worker with an objective view of herself and her associates said, "When we Greeks face a crucial problem in social welfare or elsewhere, we are inclined to examine it from all sides. We look at it from so many points of view that we finally convince ourselves that it is not a very serious problem and practically explain it away, with the result that we do not feel the need to take any action about it at all."

369 521 [275] [829] It must be obvious by now that city Greeks are never dull. Conversations with them do not merely flow; they roar along. They always have some principles to defend, some causes or organizations to promote, or some absorbing hobbies to share. The mark of the true urbanite, as previously implied, is the regular visit to a favorite café, the modern version of the ancient agora, to transact business or to discuss with friends every conceivable facet of the happenings of the past twenty-four hours, not only in his own social group but in the world at large. It is only fair to point out that a few of the

[The City Greek]

Athenians know more about the French Riviera than the rural regions of 369
their own country, and others of them live so entirely in an urban world
that they take the Greek villager for granted, which in many ways is worse 521
than ignoring him.[9] Yet such city Greeks, once this attitude is pointed out 829
to them, are the first to admit their ignorance and to start another discussion on the novel subject of the Greek village, from which so many of them derive.

But there are somber shades as well to the sparkle and dash of Greek 369
wit. To persuade many of the Greek officials to move from talk to action
would have its difficulties and would prove particularly frustrating to an 663
American or Britisher who had a special job to complete in a given period of time. It is also probably true that, given the present state of the Greek economy, almost any official is more interested in holding his job than in pressing toward real accomplishment if this might antagonize those above or below him in the bureaucratic hierarchy. Some of these officials, native sons of the village and not yet sure of themselves in the urban environment, spend disproportionate amounts of time in mending their political fences or in sitting on them, a pose easy for many Greeks to assume while rationalizing their problems away.

The qualities of city Greeks which have been mentioned here — self- 369
confidence, intellectual curiosity, philosophizing a problem away, preoccu-
pation with maintaining and improving one's position, and an awareness of [181]
a great cultural tradition — are endearing to some while irritating to oth- [157]
ers.[10] The urban Greeks who seem best to embody the heritage from the past and to approach with sincerity their problems of today are those who have taken time to know both the city and village Greece of the 1960's. Sharing the difficulties faced by their neighbors in the city, they also understand the grave readjustments occurring in the countryside.

THE ISLAND AND SEAFARING GREEKS

The tradition of the city, ancient but still tremendously significant today, 184
has mingled with the equally ancient traditions of the sea in the formation of modern Greece. Odysseus still lives in the Aegean and Ionian Islands today, not only in the resourcefulness with which he approached his problems but in the extent of his voyages. The seafarers are primarily the islanders,
ers, and Greece has many islands.[11] Although the sea, never more than [133]
eighty-odd miles distant from any point in Greece, has an indirect influence on the horizons of all Greeks, it is the direct source of livelihood to many islanders. Whether as fishermen or merchant seamen, they must study its moods in the same way that the city merchant studies the market or the
peasant the condition of the soil. The seamen become so cosmopolitan [186]
through their voyages that they feel at home in many port towns with people speaking many languages. This at-homeness in the world extends to

[The Island and Seafaring Greeks]

the warm morning sunshine, to watch the sailors of the numerous passenger 123
and cargo ships work aboard ship and then relax in the tiny sea-front cafés, [184]
and to talk with the families of those whose most energetic sons are away
at sea, is an introduction to a world incomprehensible to many peasants in
Central and Northern Greece and strange to the inland American. For me, [521]
the best hours of all were those spent along the quay of a busy port with
a retired sea captain, telling the tales of his misadventures — a 1950 version
of the trials of Odysseus. All of these seafarers, fishermen, and merchant 184
seamen, crews and captains and their island-anchored families, are a
part of the rainbow in the rock. Yet they, along with the city Greeks, so [162]
similar in vitality but different in their life, make up only half of the people
of Greece. The other half are rural. It is with this largest single group that
we shall concern ourselves.

THE GREEK VILLAGER

Being rural in Greece means living in a village, which is usually a picturesque 184
collection of houses, lanes, gardens, orchards, vineyards, and fields. 369●
It also means that one is a peasant, since the Greek terms *choriates, chorikos,* [361]
derived from the word *choria* (village), are the closest approximations
of *peasant* in the Greek language. But any Westerner, in seeking to
understand the rural Greek, needs to divest himself of many false notions
about the nature of a peasantry, be these on the romantic side of overidealization
or on the derogatory plane of considering them mere bearers of
burdens and dull plodders through life.[18]

In not all countries do peasants always live in villages, but they do in [101]
Greece. Therefore, in examining social life throughout the Greek mainland,
away from the cities, we can use *villager, peasant,* and *rural population* interchangeably,
feeling that if we understand Greek village life, we also shall
have gained a point of comparison for the study of peasantries in other
countries.

The importance of the small village in Greek life can best be shown by 162
a few figures taken from the 1951 census. For instance, 44.6 percent — or 369
almost half of the Greek people — lived in 5,473 communes, or local political
units, of less than 2,000 inhabitants. At the other extreme was Athens,
whose population included 18 percent of the nation's total; by 1961 it had
reached 22 percent. Since 1940 there has been a definite drift toward [166]
Athens and the twenty other towns which in 1940 had a population of over
20,000. Despite this urban trend, one must still recognize that the small
village is an imposing aspect of Greek life which deserves far more attention
than it has received in the past.

Although rural people today are increasingly drawn to the city, the peasant 369
in years past has been a man of the land, usually suspicious of city ways.
And herein lies a question: are these millions of peasants, following a daily 184
174

[The Greek Villager]

369 round of activities and so different from the city-dwelling Greek, true heirs
184 of the classic Greek cultural heritage along with the city dweller? Are they
objects for Hellenization as interpreted by the city Greeks, or are they in
174 their own right living representatives of Greece, both past and present?

The "racial purity" of the people need not concern us here, since we are thinking of Greece as a state of mind, a political and cultural ideal, and a society organized to try to meet the needs of its members. One thing is
[191] quite clear: a sizable minority of the rural folk in Greece today still speak
Albanian, Vlach, Macedonian, or even Turkish as their mother tongue.[14]
[197] Strangely enough, most of these rural families are as Greek in their loyalties, sentiments, and point of view as the Greek whose linguistic and cultural inheritance is unmixed. It might even be shown that the majority of what we call the Greek villagers, especially outside the Peloponnesos, have today been assimilated culturally rather than racially into the Greek nation. Even should this be the case, that would support the view that there is a Greek cultural reality which has had an unusual persistence through the centuries.

What does the peasant, whether agriculturist or shepherd, show us about this culture which the city Greek does not? In the first place, the peasants have always been the stable population element in the homeland. While cities rose and fell in prominence, the city Greek went far from his homeland. One hundred years ago Athens, the mother city, was only a run-down settlement, whereas many villages such as Megara, between Athens and Corinth, have been lived in continuously and even more vigorously for centuries. No matter what invading people came into Greece to settle on the land as peasants, they apparently experienced an assimilation into the Greek traditions, influencing but not imposing their own traditions on the native group. Thus there has been a cultural, even if not an altogether unmixed racial, continuity.

In the second place, the peasant has remained directly dependent on the same natural environment. In this respect he is closer to the ancient Greek than is the modern city Greek whose psychological dependence is more on the legacy of imperial Byzantium than on the Parthenon, that symbol of classic simplicity springing from the rock of Greece. It would be rash to claim that the peasant embodies the true spirit of Greece more exactly than do his fellow Greeks of city and sea, but it is fair to say that without understanding the peasant one cannot fully understand the roots and substance of contemporary Greece.

184 As each color of the rainbow blends into the whole spectrum, so these
369 three groupings of people — the city dweller, seafarer, and peasant —
blend into each other to form the Greek nation of today. Most of those
who in recent years have increased the city population are of peasant stock;
[854] the children of the wealthy Greeks are often tended from infancy by nurses

[The Greek Villager]

from a distant island or an isolated mainland village. On the other hand, 184
almost every village home contains photographs of relatives who have taken 369
on the habits of the city. All islanders are not seafarers, for the majority of
those in the larger islands live from the soil as do the peasants of the main- [854]
land. There is thus a lively interdependence among the urbanite, the seafarer, and the villager.

This interdependence, not always recognized by the Greeks themselves, has a fascination for the Western observer who is curious about the working of a society other than his own. For him the panorama of Greece is a source of enchantment. Now brilliant, now shadowy, through it the thread of tradition runs. Who are the carriers of this continuity? What has insulated the thread against time? It is doubtful whether the answers can be found in the clear, cold, statistical analysis of the social scientist. But an observer trained in the scientific method, with a background of Greek history and literature and an acquaintance with modern Greece that began with a first visit there thirty years ago, may be able to give interpretations and insights helpful to those interested in contemporary Greece.

Such interpretations may even have a broader implication. The Greeks 171
differ in innumerable ways from Asian peoples and from those of the 184
Middle East and Africa. Nevertheless, most Greeks on the mainland live in
villages which are much closer in tempo and quality of life to villages on 369
other continents than to anything one can find in the United States. They work small plots of land, scattered in strips around their villages, as do many rural people throughout the world, in sharp contrast to the mechanized American farm of several hundred acres; they know the meaning of hunger, of poverty, of the catastrophe of war and violence, which most Americans fortunately have not had to experience, but which is all too common in the newly developing countries; they also face many of the same problems of relationship to the central government and its services, of accepting or rejecting national programs of rural change.

To know the rural Greek, therefore, is to know more about rural humanity, most of which lives in a different social world from our own city-dominated society. Village people want to be seen not as cannon fodder, potential customers, religious or political converts, but as parents hoping for a better life for their children, as farmers wishing better yields to feed the family until next harvest, as new citizens — not yet secure in their franchise — learning the rudiments of the political process. Even more important, they want to be seen as individuals, with all the rich color this word conveys.

III

The Village Setting

621 Part of the story of Greek survival lies in the village form of organization.
361 To be sure, the city has exercised a tremendous sway over the thought and
[369] mood of the Greek people in the past and even more so today. But a
peasant's tangible world has been his village. We see the village first of all
as a place with a focal point, or square, from which emanate streets, lanes,
or paths winding in adjustment to the local surface features. As a place,
[491] the village has increasing connections with the outside world, since new
[487] roads continue to replace donkey tracks which until recently led from the
more isolated areas.

But the village is also a service center where the farm family can shop or get some local artisan to make or repair household or farm equipment. In the rural areas of Greece, as elsewhere, these village services do not extend to waste disposal, this being the responsibility of the individual family. Viewed from another point, the village is a collection of houses, yards, and gardens, which also deserve a brief description if one is to see the backdrop against which so much of the peasant's daily life occurs.

621 In the village the rural Greek has found a pattern of life which gives him
the many advantages of a close-knit community and at the same time allows
[476] him to farm his land, exchange work and implements with his relatives or
[438] neighbors, sell his crops, and care for his animals in a common pasture,
[233] frequently under the care of a common swineherd or shepherd. Agricultural

VILLAGE HYGIENE

364 [369] This closer contact with the ideas and the services of the city is helping overcome one of the negative aspects of village life from the survival standpoint, namely, its lack of adequate hygienic provisions. When Greek villages are judged in terms of what one finds in many rural settlements throughout the United States and Western Europe, they measure up fairly well. They have their expected quota of flies, their problems of sewage disposal, and the difficulties of obtaining pure drinking water, but these concerns are common to farm people in other parts of the world.

364 312 When, however, one measures the Greek village by scientific standards of public hygiene — and these should be the goal in the interest of better health for its people — then there are obvious shortcomings. According to *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece*:

> many of the rural sections depend on small springs and hand-dug wells for their water supplies. These are usually isolated from inhabited areas and the water is not piped to the villages. It is quite common to see women carrying water in earthenware containers from sources as far as a mile from their homes.
>
> In semi-rural communities, particularly in the lowlands where underground water is more common, public wells, springs and private wells are often in use. Many private wells exist all over Greece and are sometimes the preferred sources of supply, even where safe piped supplies are provided. In some of the smaller Ionian and Aegean Islands and in a few villages in the northeastern Peloponnese and eastern Crete, the complete lack of any surface or underground water has compelled the population to depend on rain water collected from the roofs of their homes.
>
> Many private and public wells and many rural springs are open and unprotected from contamination which may be introduced by the human or animal population which it serves. . . . Even after collection, the water is frequently subject to contamination in containers. . . .[8]

The urban water supplies are more apt to be adequate with proper precautions taken for filtration and chlorination.[9]

364 514 A description of waste disposal is also contained in the report quoted above:

> For the disposal of human excreta in the rural areas of Greece either the pit privy or bored-hole latrines are utilized. Defecation on the ground is still widely practiced due to lack of sanitary facilities in residences and schools. However, the sanitary type of bored-hole latrine and pit privy has been installed under various programs at low cost to villagers in rural areas mainly as demonstration projects.[10]

164 165 In addition to the obvious visible signs of sanitation progress, one can learn much from the list of causes of death for Greece as a whole. Table 2 shows the first fifteen general causes of death for 1950. Some of the

423 earth" is a term really descriptive of the average peasant holding of less
178 than 10 acres, too small an area to support the average family of 5 people
[241] who try to live from its products. Put another way, 37 percent of the
farms have an area of less than 2.5 acres, and 51 percent comprise from
2.5 to 12.5 acres.[1]

●[369] As peasants come more and more into the orbit of the city, as they sub-
stitute commercial values for their traditional agrarian values, the bond
181 with the land loosens and their attitude toward the land undergoes a
432 change.[2] Where it once was a sacred heritage to be preserved and passed on
intact to posterity, the land tends to become a commodity to be bought and sold; and the peasant becomes a farmer, whom one approaches differently from a peasant, for his attitudes and values are different. Such differences are described more fully later as part of the summing up of social changes noted in Greece.

121 There was no way of finding out what changes were occurring among
178 the villagers in the various regions of Greece except to talk with them and
with those who work with them. Few studies had been made. People in
423 Athens, both Greek and American, guessed and speculated, sometimes
432 shrewdly, but no one could do more than point out that change was occurring. So I had to go into the provinces and see for myself, being careful to visit areas which Greeks generally agreed differed markedly from each other. Some areas have become much more like the city than other areas, more farmer than peasant. Others are much more in the classic peasant mold of Hesiod's day.[3]

Far in the northwest corner of Greece, in Epirus, the director of agriculture said:

> 178 The rural people here do not part willingly with their land. On the contrary,
> because the plots are small, they are always trying to increase the size of their
> 423 holdings. At the same time, the people here have a strong trait of localism.
> 432 They may be offered a larger tract in another part of Greece in keeping with
> some of our current resettlement programs, but the Epirote is reluctant to leave.
> [186] He prefers to live on a poverty margin in the area that he knows and loves
> rather than to follow the promise of a better existence elsewhere.
>
> 166 One clue to the importance of land to the Epirote is the quarrels that
> 511 families and even villages have about it. Within one hour of Ioannina there are
> three villages which have been arguing over a tiny bit of land for three months.
> 578 Although the land is so rocky that it is useful only for pasture, a representative
> had to be sent to Constantinople to search the old records to see to whom the
> land really belonged.
>
> [369] It also happens quite frequently that Epirotes who move to Athens, and even settle there permanently, becoming quite prosperous, won't relinquish the fields that they own back here. They, too, still sense a certain security in the possession of land.

178 type among us — the 'chewer' who would squander the $500 right and
423 left in the hope that the next year the cousin in the United States would
432 send some more money in answer to a plea of distress!"

Here, then, is what one might call an illustration of a normal process of
[454] change in attitude, the peasant becoming the farmer. When the house
rather than the accumulation of more land begins to be stressed, the farmer
[369] is moving to "city ways." Throughout the south, in the Peloponnesos, the
younger people seem more ready to move cityward than do their elders,
who still insist that one should hold onto the land.

[166] In Northern Greece when there is a shift from the land the whole family,
young and old, moves together, whereas in the Peloponnesos the young
[593] people make the move on their own. This seems to indicate that when the
traditional attitude toward land changes, another basic change in peasant
life is occurring — in family relationships.[4] However, everywhere in the
[463] southern villages, as elsewhere in the country, the village shopkeeper,
barber, shoemaker, and other artisans, as well as the priest, all own land
which they farm if they can find the time; if not, some member of their
family works it instead.

178 On the basis, then, of dozens of interviews — only a small sampling
has been quoted — carried out in thirteen thousand miles of travel in the
423 provinces, some generalizations may be attempted. Wide regional varia-
432 tions are apparent. One may generalize, though conscious of many excep-
tions, that peasants on fairly good soil which they work with their time-
184 honored methods by hand and not by machines hold strongly to the belief
[114] that the earth and the earth alone is their treasure and their great security.
On the other hand, where peasants in Northern Greece and elsewhere live
[166] in areas frequently troubled by war, or on marginal land, they will re-
luctantly accept a chance to move away from their family fields — even
to the cities. But those who sold their land before the war and lost all of
their money because of devaluation now appreciate the worth of land even
more. In the fertile plains where mechanization has come, the attitude to-
ward land corresponds more to that in Western Europe and the United
States: it becomes a commodity rather than a part of the family heritage.
[369] In areas of high education and of long-time contact with the city, such as
in much of the Peloponnesos or in Attica, the urban values and attitudes as
to land and family have so permeated the thinking of the young that they
prefer nonfarm work when this can be found, abandoning the emphasis
their elders still place upon " the good earth " as treasure, security, and
heritage.[5]

THE CYCLE OF LAND OWNERSHIP (ATTICA)

423 Whatever the quality of the villager's attachment to his fields is now, he
369 always has had, and still has, an intimacy with his fields that the city

dweller can seldom appreciate. Many a villager may curse the land or bless 423 it, as the seafarer does the sea, but he does it as though he were speaking [369] of a part of his own body. In this he resembles his forebears of three thousand years ago. Legally, however, land ownership in Greece has gone a full cycle in the past three millenniums.[6]

A good vantage point from which to view this cycle of land ownership is Attica, the area around Athens. The average tourist to Greece speeds down the road from Athens on his way through the Attic countryside to Sounion, where Poseidon's temple overlooks the sea; or he drives a few miles north to Marathon to climb the memorial mound; he moves through Attica for forty or fifty miles on his way to Megara and Corinth, ancient places to be seen and photographed. On all of these trips he will see peasants everywhere. In the spring and summer they are bringing loads of vege- [438] tables — carrots, tomatoes, squash — into the city; in the fall they are [273] taking grapes from the vineyards to be pressed by foot in the large wooden [372] vats or, as winter comes, carrying the dead branches of the vines home to burn in their small, cold houses. Their slow-moving animals delay the tourist bus, their sheep respond erratically to the auto horn, but the peasants themselves seem unconcerned about the traffic. And the land, the dusty [137] countryside, dotted with the gray-green olive groves, and the dark points of the cypress, surrounded by heights incredibly changing from silver to rose to violet and purple in the dusk, must look very much the same as it did when travelers or Athenians described it long ago.

In the sixth century B.C. most of the soil of Attica was in the hands of 175 individual proprietors. It was "cultivated, as far as it was cultivable at all, 423 by peasant proprietors, who appear to have been, if not prosperous, at least independent and contented until the devastation of Attica in the Peloponnesian War brought with it widespread unsettlement and ruin and inaugurated a period of hardship and struggle for the rural population."[7] Today peasant proprietors again work their own land, independent and moderately content, on the Attic plain and up the rocky slopes where crops, vineyards or olive trees can be made to grow.

The story of what happened between the Golden Age's peasant proprietors and the return of the land to peasant owners in the Atomic Age not only reveals much about the past of Greece but helps explain the contemporary peasant's concern for land.[8] The individual property holder, sometimes medium and sometimes small, persisted, although with difficulty, from classic times down to the Byzantine period. Then some villages, called *kephalochoria*, did manage even under Byzantium to preserve the private peasant holdings, and many more settlements possessed communal property to serve the needs of the commune. But most of the individual holdings yielded to the large estate which belonged to the crown, the nobles, or the clergy.[9] After the end of Byzantium in 1453, the Turkish bow to Him. Our tasks are heavy ones and most of the time we live a 221 miserable life. What holds us in life is when we come back at night to our 82 homes and we find our children. What holds us are our festivals, our customs, our holidays, the joys of our children and the love we bear our animals, [186] our birthplace where we have also grown up. To drink water and to eat bread here is better than all the goods we find in the cities. Here we pass each season differently. It is different in winter, different in summer, and different in spring and fall.[1]

YANNES NEEDS A HORSE; ALEKOS BUYS A TRACTOR

To work their land to get their bread, the peasants need tools and equipment, 241 draft power and seeds. I had not fully realized the severe limitations under which most Greek peasants tried to carry on in the early 1950s until I talked to Yannes in the shade of a tree just outside of Alistrate (in Macedonia). Yannes, aged twenty-nine years and dressed like most peasants [291] of that area in brown shapeless garments, quickly came over to start a conversation with us when he saw the car come to a stop. During the few preliminaries he played with his small mustache and finally asked:

> Did you see me standing over there? It's not because I don't want to work. My animal is there in the team of the man plowing in that field below. [492] He uses mine while he does his work and then I use his animal when I do my plowing. I have my own fields in 13 plots. This man using my horse works on shares; [427] the owner of the field in which he is plowing is a tobacco commission merchant who has altogether 25 acres of good land. The owner in 1950 got 125,000 [652] drachmas [$8,333] to build a poultry house from the government but we haven't seen a sign of a poultry house around here. Had that money been given to the people of Alistrate to get farm animals then we all would have been much better off. Five years ago 200 of us petitioned the Agricultural Bank for draft animals but only 6 people got any.

We did not challenge his poultry-house figure or try to dispel the deep gloom in which he was immersed. But we were willing to listen. He complained about the way American aid was being spent but, when pressed for details, said that this was his impression because "he couldn't see anything being done." Perhaps those who travel around, he pointed out, might see factories going up, dams being built, but he and his people did not believe it because they had nothing tangible, such as animals or equipment. Reflecting [369] the peasants' attitude toward urban life, he said, "Money is for the cities." During the long wait in the refreshing shade, Yannes talked about his family.

"I have eight members in my family. Now we have only yogurt thinned with water for these eight people to eat. For forty-three months I was a soldier and came home thinking things would be better, but the Bulgarians thrace

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land but work rented land or as farm laborers; and three are in business 463
(baker, coffeehouse proprietor, and dressmaker). Some of these land-
owners, in addition to farming, run a local business, or practice a trade [423]
such as carpentering and smithing, but their basic orientation is toward
the land.

Being farmers, one might assume that they could grow some of their 621
own food. A few manage to do this. Of the 589 acres of cultivated land
belonging to the village people, 338 acres are in tobacco. This cash crop, 241
therefore, takes up about 57 percent of all arable land. Corn accounts for 511
187 acres, vegetable gardens 25 acres, potatoes 20 acres, alfalfa 6 acres,
and other crops 13 acres. But no matter what methods one uses in Dafnon,
it is impossible to grow enough food for 1145 people on the shallow land.
There are two ways out: first, grow a cash crop such as tobacco, sell it,
and use the income to buy food and other necessities; the second is for
a large number of families to be resettled elsewhere and thus provide suffi-
cient land for those that remain. The latter suggestion is impossible, since
other rural areas are also overcrowded and the opportunities in the cities
are not yet equal to the demand of those making the exodus from the rural
areas. Indeed, cities have been discouraging the influx of new families in [369]
search of work.

This leaves only the other possibility of getting most of the family income 249
from tobacco alone. Here, again, the tobacco producer is caught at the
mercy of the market or in the "price scissors." Without food of his own 435
production, he has to sell his tobacco at any price offered simply in order 511
to have bread for his children. The producer, according to this study of
Dafnon, knew that tobacco prices, including the premium paid by the state, [458]
had risen over prewar prices 260 times. This was small consolation for,
in reading *Vema*, an Athenian newspaper dated December 14, 1951, he [204]
also learned that costs of foodstuffs had risen 425 times, clothing 554 times,
fuel 394 times, sundries 367 times, manufactured goods 467 times, and im-
ported supplies 416 times.

It is difficult to grow tobacco, particularly the Oriental type (Basmas 249
variety) that requires so much manipulation, leaf by leaf, with an average leaf being four inches long and two and one-half inches wide. The first plowing is usually done in February or March. Seedbeds are heavily manured, and the seed is well mixed with sand and ashes, then sown. The beds are pressed down by foot for better germination; sieved manure is scattered over them; and the beds are watered. This watering is continued, usually morning and evening, until the end of May when the plants are ready to be transplanted. Because of this need for water, the beds are always located near some accessible water supply.

The tobacco fields are usually plowed under three times before the to-
bacco plants are set out. The same fields are used for tobacco year after [242]

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594 does not hurt the dignity of the wife to be turned down, whereas it would
184 make the man lose face.

Those familiar with village family life point out that wife beating is almost
593 a thing of the past because women are learning that this is not the general
rule and need not be endured. When I asked groups of young men
594 whom I interviewed whether they thought they would ever beat their wives,
[178] one man said, "I probably will if I get drunk." Several said that they would
beat her if she was not good, but they had a hard time defining what they
meant by being "good." Another young man pointed out, "If my wife does
not behave, I will make suggestions. If she doesn't change her ways, then
I'll beat her." Beating, then, is no pastime but a last resort for keeping a
[586] wife in line. From time to time, a village woman may threaten to sue for
divorce, but this is generally interpreted in the village as a desire on her
part "to be fashionable" rather than as a way out of a bad bargain. Divorces
are still under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts and are very difficult
[562] to obtain. The growing legal rights of women as well as the social changes
under way are making the woman, as well as her husband, think of herself
[178] as a human being and not as property to be owned and ordered about. This
● [369] holds true in the villages as well as in the cities.

In 1952 the women were first given the right to vote in national elections,
562 but they are rarely elected to an office and seldom make their way into
641 governmental positions traditionally held by men. Village men generally
666 agree that it is proper for women to have the vote but maintain that their
women are not sufficiently educated to use the ballot wisely. In Attica a
villager said that the women of his village were not yet "ripe" enough to be
members of the local council, but then he added: "But we men just don't
like the idea — that's nearer the truth." This lack of "ripeness" was interesting
in view of the fact that in 1930 women won the right to vote in municipal
elections if they could read and write and were over thirty years of
age. In 1949 this was changed to allow any woman twenty-one years of age
to vote, even if illiterate, in municipal elections.[8]

562 Nevertheless, any peasant woman who wants to get along with her husband
had best concern herself with her household duties and assist in the
641 farm tasks as best she can. Very much preoccupation with "women's rights"
593 would tend to make her a spectacle in the village, thereby subjecting her
husband to much teasing by the other men. If there is a public meeting,
[626] she is not supposed to attend, although she may stand with other women
on the edge of the square to see the notables arrive and to watch proceedings
[623] from a distance. Americans connected with the United States Mission
[177] to Greece have adopted the tactic of trying to draw the women into more
active participation in these public meetings and have been fairly successful
in some of the villages where they have worked most intensively.

562 The patterns of deference required of women and their so-called rights
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178 the Turks and where people were isolated. Where urban civilization has
593 reached, the young people laugh at the old customs. In the Peloponnesos I
heard that "the people are more intelligent today and are not as respectful
576 of each other and their elders. They know the answers to questions them-
[369] selves and do not have to ask." A man from near Thebes expressed the
matter in a way typical of comments in many parts of Greece: "In my youth the father's opinion and word was law; nowadays a rebellious breeze is blowing among the boys. The old patriarchal atmosphere does not exist; the father still is the boss but not as much as formerly. The patriarchal idea was strong in the past because the old man had had experience and knew better than the rest how to meet emergencies. Today with education the young man can argue and reason. Nowadays, with the development of civilization, the youth has the possibility of getting knowledge." Military service with its travel outside the immediate region and the contact it affords with young men from all over the country instills a certain new independence in the sons.

593 Much mention has been made of sons and the young men. Daughters,
too, have their problems with their parents. One man whose daughter had
369 gone with him and the rest of the family to live in the city during the Communist guerrilla war did not want to return to her native village. She was fourteen when she had made the move.

We asked: "How will she get used to village life after being in the city for so long?"

Her father replied: "Where was she born?"

"Here, I suppose."

"Well, her roots are here and she should get used to living here again."

It was not the words so much as his tone and mien which communicated the thought that he was not going to allow his daughter to entertain any ideas that she was too good for village life.

593 Most daughters, however, do leave home as brides. There are beautiful
customs which symbolize this separation. It is customary throughout Greece
585 at such a time to break a pomegranate. Some say this is done so that the
[591] bride will have many children, for the seeds of the pomegranate signify
fertility. Others says that it means a broken heart and expresses the sadness
[824] of parting from the childhood home. But parents, especially the mother,
give much advice on how to adjust to the new home and urge the daughter
to accept the new household as her own family. A particularly touching
[271] scene is the giving of the last glass of water by the mother to the daughter
on departure.

THE WIFE AND HER IN-LAWS

591
596 Part of getting along with one's husband is getting along with the mem-
606 bers of his immediate family, particularly if they are living in the same
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Saturday; in other villages it may be on Thursday evening or Friday. Now 512
and then one may come upon a group of women making use of a neighborhood
oven where combined efforts mean greater economy of fuel. More 184
and more, village bakers are relieving housewives of the baking chores, although 178
the women must prepare the loaves and other food for the oven.
Throughout rural Greece the bread is usually dark, since only about 2.5 256
percent of the bran is extracted.

It is hard to think of Greek food, however, without thinking of the resinated 273
wine that is served to guests with the meal. Foreign travelers never
fail to react quite strongly to the taste and properties of this unusual drink.
Z. D. Ferriman in his *Home Life in Hellas* (1910) describes it as

> a beverage whose odour has been compared to various things — furniture polish and melted sealing-wax among others. A high dignitary of the Church from Constantinople said of it many centuries ago, that it resembled the juice of the pine tree rather than that of the grape, an observation that is strictly true. To the novice it is extremely nauseous, and some people never acquire the taste. To the Greek it is nectar. He lauds its flavour of turpentine on account of its alleged peptic qualities.[7]

On holidays and special occasions the men, as already noted, may drink 527
ouzo.

In addition to her preoccupation with food, although it is served simply 291
and in limited variety, the housewife also has to spend much time preparing
clothes for her family. This holds true even though the villagers throughout 462
Greece no longer wear the highly embroidered costumes of two or three 294
generations ago and have adopted the Western style of dress. Some villages,
such as Megara near Athens, with an eye on the tourist dollar, are exceptions 177
to this rule, for their streets become resplendent on Sundays and holidays 292
as some of the residents stroll in traditional dress. There are, however,
little touches of costume which vary from one region to another. The nomadic 184
peoples, described earlier, can always be identified by their black
garb; the Turkish men of Thrace by their baggy trousers and fezzes and 563
their women by veils and ballooning Turkish trousers.

But the Greek peasant styles are becoming more uniform. In the northern 184
Peloponnesos the women wear as a standard work garment a skirt and
a blouse, along with heelless pigskin moccasins, pointed at the toe. In many
other parts of Greece a chemise, with or without sleeves, is common. These 294
garments and their underwear are woven and sewn at home; the "woolies"
which are worn in cold weather are knitted by the women. On Sunday the 286
women wear a "best" dress, which they may have bought in town or at least 292
modeled on a dress someone else obtained there. Underneath is the customary
slip. Regular Western shoes with heels are a part of the dress-up 369
outfit. When the women are working outside they wear headscarfs, with the 177

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have not reached. They also help in the gathering of olives, grapes, and 241
many other products requiring patient labor. 178

The woman is increasingly being viewed today as a supplementary source 464
of labor in the fields, to be employed only when the need is urgent, although
regional variations are still important. When she does go to the field, she 854
may take the baby and the small children along and care for them as she 855
works. Various explanations are offered for this lightening of field labor by
women. Today, more of the village women have seen how the city women 369
live and have resolved to put city ways into practice in their homes and
villages. Furthermore, men seem to be showing more interest in their farms 654
due to the help the government is giving in providing fruit trees, opening 491
up of farm-to-market roads, and helping the peasant participate more actively
in the national economy. Agricultural and home-economics exten- 242
sion workers, who now visit the majority of villages, not only tell the men
that it is their job to do the field work, but they also show the men better methods for reducing the work load. Where tractors exist, the woman is relieved of much field work and can occupy herself with other tasks. She works more on her loom, takes care of her children, and cleans her house. She also has more time for gardening on a plot fairly close to the house.
One recognizes the need for this in a place such as Ioannina (Epirus) 438
where peasants in the outlying villages, with plenty of land near their house,
buy at the city market vegetables which they could have grown at home if the women had had sufficient time.

KEEPING THE FAMILY WELL

Work, however, is not the only responsibility of a Greek housewife. Any 758
ailing person becomes the immediate concern of the mother or the mother- 462
in-law, with the older woman usually considered wiser in the mysteries of
folk medicine. The patient also becomes the concern of the neighbors for, 574
as one man put it, "when somebody gets sick, everybody goes to visit him
and to look after him." For quite understandable reasons, the living stand- 511
ards of rural Greece are far below those found in Athens or in most coun- 369
tries of the West. Consequently, health practices, many of them surrounded
with superstitions, are the outgrowth of the experience of people who for centuries have faced pain, illness, and death without the benefits of the accumulated medical discoveries of the modern world.

Indeed, for much illness the peasant has a supernatural rather than a 753
scientific explanation. As one writer has put it:

> The whole of popular medicine is based upon the knowledge of charms and 755
> incantations. Many simples and drugs are of course known and employed; but 757
> it is still generally believed, as it was in the old time, that "there would be no
> good in the herb without the incantation." For the most ordinary diseases are 776

743 758 been pointed out by Dr. Friedl. The bedclothes from home give the patient a chance not only to show a part of her dowry but they, being familiar, lessen the unfamiliarity of the hospital. Human companionship is considered an absolute good. To be left alone by one's family, especially when one is sick, is dreaded.

> The family has especially important social and psychological functions in Greece. Therefore, the presence day and night of family members in the hospital fulfills the latent function of emotional support. Such support is essential for Greek patients, because they feel useless and unwanted whenever an illness prevents them from fulfilling their customary roles in the household. When the family members can also care for a patient in the hospitals much as they can at home (e.g., bring and cook food for him and, if necessary, even feed him) his sense of isolation and strangeness is further lessened.[17]

Then, too, the presence of relatives overcomes any doubt the patient may have about the doctor, for they can keep a check on him and discuss in constant family conferences the kind of treatment he is giving.

These are only some of the cultural influences surrounding hospital care. They have their advantages and their disadvantages, as Dr. Friedl points out, but they do show the pervasiveness of the family system and the fact that woman's role in medical care, even when a relative is in the hospital, is indispensable.

562 593 ● [369] Women in rural Greece today are conscious of their hard lot; they long for an easier physical existence, for their contacts with the cities have been frequent enough to show them the advantages of the conveniences there. At the same time, they are not discontented in their social relations. They observe that a man honors his mother and is solicitous over his sister's welfare; in the beginning, however, he behaves differently toward his young wife who is less experienced in the world than he and whom he must command if he is to retain the respect of his fellow villagers. Later on, his wife — though still observing the proprieties of deference and obedience — becomes almost his equal in many matters most essential to her. He consults her about the children or about any important shift in agricultural activity, although reserving for himself the final decision.

Rural Greeks would probably not see the intended humor in the sign once posted in an Alabama restaurant — "Keep your wife for a pet, and eat with us" — since the Greek peasant wife still maintains an indispensable economic role in addition to that of sexual companion and the bearer of children. Her chief security in a male-oriented society is her very indispensability, and the more dependent her husband is upon her, the greater her sense of satisfaction. To be merely a pet, even though this carried with it a lightening of physical toil, would threaten the very foundations of her

existence. In the Greek cities also, both the sophisticated and unsophisti- 562
cated men and women agree that a woman's place in life is to cater to the 593
man's desires, to build up his ego, to be "a good wife." As long as there is [369]
mutual agreement in this regard, marriages remain stable. Instability begins
when there is disagreement over what the roles of husbands and wives
should really be.

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provided in addition. In some of the poorer villages fifty sovereigns are the
going price, but much more often one hundred or one hundred and fifty are 583
mentioned. Localities as widely scattered as Agrinion and Mesolongi on [178]
the west coast, Ioannina in Epirus, villages near Thebes, those in Attica,
and some in the Peloponnesos report such demands, but often add that an
equivalent amount in land (thirty to forty stremmata) would be accepted.

Some villages, however, particularly those in the Peloponnesos and Central [369] ●
Greece where the lure of the city is strong, set as the chief goal of the
dowry a house in Athens to be provided by the bride. To be sure, this house
consists of only two rooms and a kitchen, but it means that the new family
can either take root in Athens itself or else rent out the property at a high [427]
rate of return. In place of the house, three hundred gold sovereigns are
considered acceptable and land is much less important than formerly.

There are doubtless other types of dowry arrangements, but these suffice [178]
to show the regional variations and the growing emphasis upon money as
the chief resource a young couple will use to get a start in life. In some
cases the dowry is paid directly to the husband to use as he sees fit and may 583
be subject to return if he fails to live up to his part of the marriage bargain. 594
But in many cases the wife maintains considerable control over the disposition
of her dowry. One thing is attested to on every hand: the wife who
brings a big dowry, particularly in cash, is not sent to the field by her husband
except in most unusual circumstances. Thus, privileged status both in [554]
her own home and in the community is assured her. If a girl brings no
dowry, around Lamia at least, she has to work very hard and may even be
subject to chastisement.

A clearer picture of what is meant by household goods and linen can be 583
gained from a simple list of what a girl from the village of Spathari, in the
Peloponnesos, is supposed to provide: This list, though not the same [184]
throughout all of Greece, is indicative of the long hours of labor and financial [461]
drain represented:

[415]

45–50 blankets
6 sheets
12 pairs pillow cases
15–16 towels
2 big rugs
6 rag rugs
6 big sauce pans
3 medium pans
3 small pans
1 big frying pan
1 medium frying pan
2 round cake pans
2 big and 1 medium spoons
6 of each piece of cutlery
Fireplace equipment (big kettle,
2 andirons, hanging arm, scuttle)

[412]

A dowry is a cumulative matter, often reflecting the savings of previous [727]
generations. That is why the devastation of war works far more hardship
than is at first apparent. It is still a strong tradition among Greek families [432]
to make as many of the objects at home as possible and buy only those

As a final note on courtship and marriage, it is proper to ask what hap- 586
pens if a marriage does not turn out successfully for either or both parties. 178
Until about twenty years ago a divorce was never thought of as a possibility
by peasants; indeed, they considered even the thought of it a disgrace to a
family. Even today, when so many changes are present in Greek life, village
divorces are still relatively rare. When they do occur, the divorcée has a [587]
hard time getting another husband, for the relatives of any prospective
mate are afraid that she might start to lead a bad life and bring shame on
them. In some villages where there is considerable urban influence, the [369]
idea of getting a divorce is tied in with the newer conception of women's
rights, and in this connection it is not viewed as a matter of shame but as a [562]
matter of fashion. A woman who wishes to stand on her legal rights begins
to talk in terms of divorce in case she thinks her husband is abusing her. [593]

As in the case of the divorcée, the fate of the widow is much more diffi-
cult than that of the widower. The widow, if she is dutiful, observes a long 589
period of mourning which keeps her out of circulation in the marital market; [765]
also, she is in competition with a surplus number of unmarried women who
are apt to be preferred. In any event, she must have a dowry to contribute [587]
to her new husband. Under some circumstances, such as having children [583]
who are the pride and joy of their paternal grandparents, she may stay on
in her deceased husband's home. If she does not meet a functional need [591]
there, but is an extra mouth to feed, she will try to arrange for her own
relatives to take her back.

[P.176]

IX

Ceremonies and Holy Days

593 Greek family life also has its serious overtones. In such a closely knit
182 unit the illness or death of a member may be more keenly felt than in a
family system where one's own security is not so closely tied in with the
fate of the others. In a society such as rural Greece, where there is so little
[589] room for the unmarried woman, the task of finding a suitable husband for
a daughter or sister can become an overriding consideration coloring all
of life's relationships. Where the family is the economic and producing
unit, economic ups and downs are intimately geared with the ups and downs
of the family. Should the bond between husband and wife become strained,
[369] the home increasingly becomes the center of tension with fewer outlets
than exist in an urban setting. In such cases, the man stays around the house
as little as possible and the wife seeks the company of the neighboring
women or of some relatives.

Fortunately for all, just when home life has become a bit ruffled, some ceremony or holiday appears to make the family forget for a while their differences in order to carry off the ceremony with the proper flair. The housewife can immerse herself with good conscience in the time-consuming preparations; the father knows that certain duties are exclusively in his domain; and the children wait expectantly for their cues from the adults so that they, too, may participate.

RELIGIOUS HOLIDAYS AND NAMEDAYS

Family members, however, do not have to wait for the coming of an 796
annual festival or fair to find an occasion for dancing or taking things 527
easy. There are many other religious holidays calling for special observances
in addition to Easter, the most important, and the Twelve Days surround-
ing Christmas. For example, Greek civil servants observe, with pay, ap- [465]
proximately twenty-five holidays throughout the year, and industrial work-
ers honor about half this number, some of them with pay. The villager,
closer to the traditions for which the holidays stand, will celebrate the full
twenty-five and others added for good measure.

To trace all of these holidays would call for a detailed Calendar of [184]
Customs, a list far too lengthy to be incorporated here even if one had
mastered through the years the many regional variations throughout
Greece.[6] What is more important is the realization that holidays do play [241]
an important part in adding rhythm and color to family and community life,
as well as indicating to the farmer, whose agricultural work cycle is closely
meshed with the regularly recurring holidays, that it is time for him to take
up or finish some important activity.

I tend to associate each of the major Greek holidays with the particular 527
village or city I happened to be in at the time of its observance. On one
May Day, for example, I was in the heart of the Peloponnesos where groups
of school children with their teachers were taking walks through the fields,
an excursion-picnic. And, then, in the early afternoon to be invited to par-
ticipate in the festivities at the school proved pleasant indeed. An important [789]
part of the activities was the hanging of the wreath over the door of the
school, a pagan custom supposed to drive away evil.

Near Phlorina, in 1953 and again in Athens in 1955, I observed the 796
commemoration of the holiday in honor of St. John the Baptist on June 24.
This pagan midsummer festival has survived on into the present so much 372
so that even in Athens, to say nothing of the villages, on St. John's Eve [369]
small boys light fires in the yards or streets and jump over them. One is
supposed to burn all worthless things as a symbol of purification of the [783]
house and, as token of personal purification, one jumps over the fire while
shouting "I leave my sins and my fleas behind me."[7] Into the same fire
the peasants throw the withered May Day wreaths. This too is the evening 796
when the girls of the village seek to learn their fortunes from the "dumb"
or speechless water which a maiden or, in some places a young boy, 787
brings from the fountain while remaining absolutely quiet despite the ef-
forts of the bystanders to make the bearer talk. Later, each girl drops some
easily identified possession into the jar which is "locked" until the next
evening, thereby giving the name of *kledona* (from *kledi*, key) to this par-
ticular custom. When it is unlocked, the girls sing songs which foretell

Eve and Epiphany (December 24–January 6). It is preceded by a week's 796
fast, which formerly lasted forty days, ending on Christmas Eve. Through- 785
out much of Greece it is traditional to kill a pig for Christmas, although in 262
many villages of Thessaly people are satisfied with fowl. Indispensable is
the *Christopsoma* (Bread of Christ), a large round loaf, with a cross
formed of dough in the middle and with four chestnuts on each side and a
fifth in the center. This is a leavened loaf but without any sugar, although 369
in the cities it is so highly decorated with candied fruits that it resembles a
sweet loaf. Special Christmas cakes as well as a number of other dishes are
also prepared for the occasion.

Christmas Eve is a time for caroling, or the *kalenda*. The carols are about 796
the birth of Christ, the joy that is spread all over the world, "so good 533
master give us something so that we can enjoy with ease Christmas Day."
In some parts of Greece adults as well as children go caroling. In addition 534
to triangles which they play while singing, the children may carry little
paper ships or houses and lighted lanterns. The carolers in the cities re- 369
ceive coins or sweets, but in the villages they are content with currants and
nuts. They avoid homes that are in mourning, although earlier in the day 765
many people have probably visited the cemeteries with offerings of food 769
for the dead.

On Christmas Day itself the more devout go to the early communion 796
service and then on to the home of the eldest relative (if he is very poor,
then to the home of the richest relative). Here, in Thessaly at least, they
drink *kokorozoumo*, a boullion made from boiled chicken, lamb, and 262
beef, to which a lemon flavoring has been added. In Macedonia, a tradi-
tional dish is *dolmades*, or stuffed pickled cabbage leaves prepared on
Christmas Eve and allowed to simmer in a sauce pan on a low fire all
night. The men in particular drink a great deal of liquor throughout the 273
day and generally end up inebriated, partly because they have been to call
on those named Christos or Christina and been duly treated. Christmas 574
Day, though not a time for exchanging gifts, is a special occasion to be 431
celebrated.

Yet throughout this whole twelve-day period many of the peasants re- 152
veal an unusual anxiety, for they believe that the Evil Eye is unusually ac- 754
tive at this time. Windows and doors must be kept shut so that bad spirits
will not bring in illnesses of any kind; furthermore, these spirits — called 784
kallikantzari — are usually mischievous as well. They are supposed to be 776
little men with goats' feet, enormous heads, and big ears; they are black,
for they come down the chimney which must be kept closed. To be on the
safe side, it is well to put a little sugar and a glass of water by the fireplace 782
for them to eat and drink and thus be less inclined to do harm. Every village
literally teems with stories about the kallikantzari at this time of year and
details differ greatly as to their appearance and pranks. Their presence is 784

The second, third, and fourth of January are ordinary working days, but 796
on January 5 people expect a half-day off since it is Epiphany Eve, at [527]
which time children also sing the kalenda about the baptism of "the child [533]
of God." There is a five o'clock service in the morning at which occurs the
first blessing of the waters. Those in attendance have brought jugs or cups [788]
for the blessed water which they take home to use in curing the sick or [755]
preventing the Evil Eye during the year. But on Epiphany itself occurs the
most spectacular second blessing of the water, done in front of everybody
at the church or near some body of water into which the cross is
thrown. Swimmers are ready to dive in after it and struggle for its posses- [777]
sion. The one who succeeds in gaining it is not only assured of good luck
during the year but he can pass throughout the crowd and even the community to collect money from those solicited.

On Epiphany the priest visits the homes of the parish to bless each room [789]
by sprinkling holy water there, thus guaranteeing that all kallikantzari[1] have
been exorcised and chased back to their lairs beneath the earth until the next Twelve Days comes around.

Easter brings with it a wealth of customs, a blend of the pagan and the Christian, which are lightened by the coming of spring and the renewal of nature. Although they are "all of a piece" in the peasant mind, they can be best understood by the outsider in terms of Carnival, Lent, and Holy Week.

Carnival begins nine weeks before Easter and runs for three weeks. The
second week is climaxed by Meat Sunday and the third week by Cheese
Sunday. This is the time for weddings which otherwise could not take place [585]
until after Easter; this is the time for masquerades, although these are less
pronounced in the villages than in the cities; this is also the time when [369]
family groups get together for little feasts before the Great Fast starts forty [785]
days before Easter. The last two Saturdays of Carnival and the first Satur-
day of Lent are *psychosabbata,* or memorial days for the dead. On the [769]
Thursday of the middle week of Carnival, members of the family, bringing
their own food with them, gather in the home of the eldest relative to have [777]
a special meal, and on this occasion they allow some dish to scorch on the stove and smell up the house in the belief that this will bring good luck. This day is called *tsichnopempti,* since *tsichna* stands for the odor of burning flesh.

Meat Sunday is the eighth one before Easter (the villagers count Easter [785]
as one of the Sundays). On this day the people are supposed to start doing
without meat products for the Lenten period. On the following Sunday, [262]
called Cheese Sunday, the forbidden foods are broadened to include milk
products as well. This latter holiday is especially colorful in many parts of [372]
Greece, for on this day the village boys prepare piles of wood on various
heights to be lit after dark. This is also the day for visiting older relatives [783]

[1] [These are bad spirits — ANALYST]

Even when death is there, there is help. Who can bury the dead by himself? 476
The village all cry together, they all suffer together, and the whole village buries
him. He too is not far away from them. His soul roams around them and, as [764]
they say themselves, he watches them.[2] [775]

THE AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN GREECE

One could logically argue that a people with as many kinds of mutual 474
aid as the Greek villagers should take readily to the cooperative organiza- 476
tion designed to assist cooperators, through organized efforts, to achieve
goals which they could not hope to satisfy individually. But the transition 178
from informal mutual aid to an organized cooperative proves much more difficult than one would at first imagine. In the first place, since the village mutual-aid patterns are a "here and now" undertaking, those participating can see the immediate results of their labor and can hold the person helped accountable to return assistance to them when needed. The formal cooperative organizations, on the other hand, have to set goals which are removed both in time and place from the average peasant. Not only are the centers of financial control and the markets distant, but the member has to wait for benefits to accrue in the case of a marketing cooperative. In a credit cooperative, the loan received is more tangible, but its attainment has probably seemed to the peasant a long, laborious procedure.

The transition from village mutual aid to the formal cooperative or- [369]
ganization is difficult, in the second place, because the *formal* organization itself is an urban rather than a village development. To participate in and guide an organization takes as much "know-how" as repairing a tractor or managing a flock. But it is a different kind of skill from any which the peasant has been trained to use, and he is therefore either ill at ease or grossly inefficient when he tries to work with such a new social mechanism. Parliamentary procedure, the keeping of books and membership lists, and the preparation of reports go on around him all of the time, but he is seldom called upon to participate in such activity. This means that, as a member, he is apt to be passive and apathetic; he is also apt not to understand much of what is done in the cooperative organization and is therefore chronically critical of management, the government, and perhaps the whole idea of formal cooperatives in general. Once he has learned to deal with the social mechanism of the organization, he is much more self-assured and agreeable, but getting to this point takes a great deal of time for most villagers.

But perhaps a third difficulty in the transition from local mutual aid to membership in the cooperative society is most crucial. Basically the mutual-aid groups consist of family members and neighbors; only occasionally do they even call upon others in the village. The cooperative association makes an immediate leap beyond family and neighborhood to encompass men from the whole village — men who know each other but who have not

[P 205]

[XI]

The Village Coffeehouse

Eventually the coffeehouse, instead of being merely the setting for many lively conversations about village life, became an object of interest in its own right. It, too, is a village institution which takes its rank along with the school and the church. The coffeehouse, or *kapheneion*, is more than just a structure. Like the English pub, it is a place of assembly, a communication center, a place to transact business, satisfy one's thirst, or find out about the health of one's friend. 275 182

Most coffeehouses are located near the main square or at some crossroads where things are apt to happen. They find their fullest development in the cities. In the early evening, the time of day when Washington "rolls up its sidewalks" and becomes quieter and quieter, the squares of Athens, the Greek capital, literally burst into life. Constitution Square, for instance, after hundreds of chairs, which have been stacked during the day, are set up around small tables, the waiters begin their hazardous dashes back and forth across the busy street to the food shops which line the square. Their frenetic activity contrasts with the leisurely attack by the patrons upon the small cup of sweet, sirupy coffee and glass of water before them, although a conversation at some table may reach such proportions that one becomes oblivious to the automobile horns, the radio blaring out some popular tune, or the clink of spoons on a glass as people try to attract the attention of a waiter. 275 369 521 201

275 Transposed to a rural setting, the coffeehouse seems rude by comparison,
369 its patrons less well dressed, but it meets the same needs. In the village it
has a variety of forms.

COFFEEHOUSE TYPES

275 The coffeehouse, as used in this description, comes in at least three as-
443 sorted forms. One form is the shop or small variety store which sells some
merchandise and serves drinks as well. A second form concentrates on drinks alone, alcoholic and nonalcoholic. A third specializes in coffee and sweets and usually serves little if any alcoholic beverages. As one would expect, the larger the village, the greater the likelihood of finding the second and third types. To understand the social utility of the first type one must travel to a small village, such as Psathotopi on the Arta Plains.[1]

[162] Psathotopi, with less than four hundred people, has three coffeehouses
which are the only business establishments in the community. Each sells a
few articles in addition to the coffee and ouzo. Women who want needles
[562] or marcaroni either go or send their children to the shops' windows to make
the purchases, for they are not allowed to enter the shops, which are man's
275 domain. The least prepossessing of the shops, interestingly enough, is the
meeting place of the community officers. It is a branch-covered hut, four
443 by five yards in size, which has no chairs or tables inside but only benches
347 along the walls. Coffee, ouzo, and a few articles are sold here by the proprietor, who is also the church sexton. A second shop, of mud and reed construction, is larger (four by twelve yards) and contains four tables and six chairs, plus benches around the walls. Again, the merchandise consists of coffee, ouzo, and a few articles. The third shop, considered the best, is rented from the church. It is six by nine yards in size, of mud brick and
[262] stone construction. Its stock of merchandise is a little larger and it serves
Turkish delight as a special attraction. This shop has five tables, twelve chairs, and more benches than the other two. In other words, these three shops represent the local commerce of Psathotopi.

[162] In the Peloponnesos, when there was a lull in the conversation at a shop
of three by five yards in a village of about six hundred, I noted what this emporium contained. On hand were cigarettes, Turkish delight, flints, ouzo, brandy, horseshoe nails, macaroni, kerosene lamp wicks, bobby pins, needles, thread, candy, sugar, and coffee. There was the customary counter, two
[373] tables and five benches around the walls. The kerosene lamp cast a kindly
glow about the place, contrasting with the dark unlit village streets of a
winter night. A wood stove, fed charily, provided warmth. When I passed this same shop in the daytime, I realized what an ideal spot its front courtyard provided for basking when the sun shone in the winter and for shade during the summer when patrons could sit under the plane tree and watch the women come to the fountain for water. All that was needed was a

[The Village Coffeehouse]

275 443 [427] people without any great difficulty. Many of the buildings are rented by the proprietors either from some owner who built them as an investment or from the community, which derives income from the structure. In a Macedonian village of Kimine, twenty-four miles from Salonica, there are three coffeehouses:

> [403] All have adequate furniture, little tables and chairs being the standard coffeehouse equipment. All are fortunate to have battery radios also. . . . The largest coffeehouse is a community building and is rented from the community. Most of the village's middle-aged men frequent here. . . . The second coffeehouse is also rented, this time from a private owner. This coffeehouse is smaller and much neater than the previous one. Here we usually find the old men of the village, sitting around and quietly drinking and talking. The third coffeehouse is the meeting place of all the younger men in the village. This is a new building, pleasant and big.[4]

275 369 443 [562] [273] The third type of coffeehouse, found much more frequently where urban influences are strong, seldom sells ouzo and other alcoholic drinks, not because of any temperance drives, but because it caters to those who prefer coffee and an occasional sweet. This type is much more apt to be patronized by women, often in the company of a husband or father. Elsewhere in the village or town will be found *tavernas*, where wine — often that produced by the owner for his own clientele — is served in an outside courtyard with food. Many travelers to Greece have commented on the moderate use of alcoholic beverages in that country and have often pointed out that they never saw more than one or two drunk people during their whole sojourn.

But all three types of coffeehouses — the combined variety shop, the drink emporium, where liquor is served as well as coffee, and the urban type where only coffee is served — are important for reasons other than what is consumed. That is secondary, for many villagers visit a coffeehouse without buying a single drink or sweet.

COFFEEHOUSE ATTRACTIONS

275 521 208 [571] As I sat in scores of Greek coffeehouses I wondered, in looking around me, why these particular men were present at this time and what the rest of the village men were doing. I also tried to find out why certain men, perhaps five or six, were talking to each other around one table while another five or six were in earnest conversation around another table. And here and there I would find a smaller group of two or three seriously intent upon some point of discussion. What formed the nucleus of each group? Did the same people tend to cluster together each time they came to the coffeehouse? This was more than idle curiosity on my part, for I knew that the answer to such questions would reveal a great deal about how public opinion was formed in the village, opinion which in turn would be directly related to Greek national policy and even to Greek-American relations. In

the Greek coffeehouses we find the equivalent of what Chester Bowles has referred to as the "tea house jury": 275 521

> One evening in Taipeh I asked a world-wise old Chinese diplomat what he thought would happen on the mainland. "Have you ever been to China?" he asked. When I said that I had not, he said, "In every one of China's one million villages is a tea house. Every day at the tea hour the people, especially the wise people of the village, gather to talk. 208
>
> "Chiang lost," the old man continued, "because this great 'tea house jury' decided that he had failed. The villagers came to believe that the Communists could do no worse, and they might be better.
>
> "Someday perhaps the 'tea house jury' will bring a verdict against Mao. Then China will be ready for a change." [8]

Although my study of the Greek coffeehouse never got beyond the introductory stage, I felt fortunate indeed to find that the investigation by John Photiadis of Stavroupolis in Macedonia had addressed itself to many of the specific questions in which I had been interested.[9] No one would claim that all of his findings for one village in Northern Greece would automatically apply to the whole country, but they do possess enough generality to provide some penetrating insight. For example, his discussion * of the coffeehouse attractions are most helpful. 275 521

The primary appeal is *kouvenda*, or conversation, explained as follows: 275

> *Kouvenda* means conversation without any particular purpose, a recognized form of "passing the time." It is rarely desultory, or the mere exchange of ideas or description of events, or delving into the past in a quiet manner. But sometimes it is contrapuntal virtuosity, incisive, combative, loud, a statement or a question is countered by a challenging question, tact and gentleness have no part, insults are hurled, but within appropriate limits. A discussion is a battle of personal opinions, and its end is neither to reach truth nor to reach a conclusion; its end is sheer enjoyment of vigorous speech. But whatever impression this occupation of passing the time makes on someone who is a stranger to this custom, to these people it is their enjoyment. It constitutes one of the attractions that makes the coffeehouse a necessity for the villager. 521 571

Photiadis points out that during the kouvenda the participant is involved emotionally, is not only trying to prove his point but is also enjoying this oratory. The irresponsible statements are not to be taken seriously, although they sometimes are, with unfortunate consequences. In this connection, I was always interested in what the men argued about most in the village coffeehouses and found that they did not discuss politics to the same extent as the denizens of the urban coffeehouses. They preferred to talk about community affairs, crops, and personalities, although the announcement about some [369]

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* Relying on some of Dorothy Lee's analysis.

631 This led into a discussion of some of the kinds of conflict which occur in
634 the community and the part the nomarch has to play in resolving them. The
location of a new village church sometimes becomes an issue. Many argu-
578 ments are not based on any vested interest in a particular spot but on the
individuals' assessment of what would in actuality be the best spot. In order to get proof that his idea is better than other ideas, a person will leave his farm work or close up his shop and go to the city where he can get the advice of some authority whom he can quote to support him. Or several villagers in disagreement will decide to go to the nomarch to get his opinion.

631 On another occasion I went with the nomarch of Kozane to visit a village
for which he had responsibility. The agriculturist for this nomos, who had
634 come with us, introduced many of the peasants to the nomarch before the
623 meeting began at the schoolhouse. Eventually the meeting got started. The
653 nomarch, flanked on one side by the council president and on the other
by the council secretary, got down to business in a most direct way. One man got up and described the condition of his home, in which he said
[727] he was ashamed to live. This village had been destroyed by the guerrillas and the need for help had been great. Because he had a special file for each village in his nomos, the nomarch knew that when he took office 75 percent of all the houses needed rebuilding but that now that figure had dropped to 29 percent. He reminded them that in his nomos there were four thousand families without housing or even an elementary roof over their heads, but said he would see what could be done. He then found out what they expected to do with the self-help program based on voluntary contributions of labor. He reminded them that on two occasions the state had given them about $1700 to help in the construction of a road to the village and that, in view of their present need, he would see if he could get another grant. This time he would pay wages so that they might have some much-needed income.

631 When we emerged from the crowded schoolhouse, I noticed that about
twenty men had stood outside trying to overhear what was going on. The
634 nomarch stopped to talk to some of them. When we had climbed into a
275 truck which was to take us across a muddy patch to our cars half-a-mile
away, the black-robed priest came running up, an unkempt, unattractive fellow, to make a last-minute complaint to the nomarch. "Sir," he shouted, "did you know that the coffeehouse proprietor is now opening up on Sundays before the church service is over, which is contrary to the law?" The crowd looked amazed and eagerly waited to see how the nomarch would handle this troublesome complaint. He replied: "My good fellow, you go on and give them good enough sermons, and then the men won't want to go to the coffeehouse during church time."

631 Reference to one other nomarch will be enough to show the type of men
634 who were filling that post in 1953. Mr. Aronis was the nomarch of Kala-
369

mata, at the southern part of the Peloponnesos. When we discussed the 631
attitude of the peasants toward Athens and the central government, he 634
commented: "Life in the village is difficult; Athens has had special privileges. The villages are 100 percent right in their complaints. In my nomos 369
many of them have no roads, no irrigation or drainage. Their education is so far behind that it is pitiful; their homes are in awful condition. How can a peasant under such circumstances feel gratitude! Paying for the priest and the teacher should be the job of the central government in the same way that a father supports a child. The recent decision to turn back to the com- [652]
munes a share of the tobacco tax is encouraging the villagers very much. Here it will amount to about one dollar yearly per capita."

When I asked him more about the actual workings of the communes in 631
his nomos, he repeated much that others had said: 634

> The president of the community represents in a small way the national gov- 623
> ernment. So the community council is both an arm of the central government [622]
> and also a representative of the local village. All decisions of the council have to be communicated to the nomarch; this is compulsory. If the council and president decide to spend any of the local funds the nomarch has the right to say "yes" or "no." If they wish to add a paid employee, the nomarch will check to see whether it is legal or not. If the nomarch does not answer in two weeks' time, then the local council has the right to go ahead without further permission. But the villagers for the most part are not conscious of their rights after the expiration of the two-week period and are capable of waiting fifteen years. The chief reason for delays in such matters is the lack of sufficient personnel in the nomarchy.

During 1952–53, the possibility seemed strong of developing a capable, 631
well-trained group of nomarchs, all of whom were supposed to have security 634
of tenure and not be subject to dismissal except for carefully defined "cause." These nomarchs were being sent to England, the United States, and elsewhere to study how local governments functioned, and to see what ideas might be adaptable to Greece. The community presidents, over and over again, expressed appreciative comments on the work of many of these nomarchs. To be sure, in some villages I found that the nomarch had not yet made himself known, but I had the general impression that a much better relationship was building up between the peasantry and the national government because of the changed attitudes of friendliness and understanding on the part of these key officials. When I revisited Greece in 1955 634
for another study period, I found that the Minister of Interior in early 661
March 1954 had rescinded the career-nomarch legislation and had immediately dismissed one third of the nomarchs. According to one observer:

> The odd characteristic about these dismissals was that they were not necessarily based on political opinions nor on efficiency. Several strongly-pro-government nomarchs were dismissed despite known efficiency. Apparently this arose

634 through internal dissensions with the government group, which came to light a
week or two later on the replacement of the Minister of Interior among others
661 and the secession of the Markezines group. It was a question of removal of antipatronage elements. The dismissals were legally contested, and subsequently several of the career nomarchs were restored to office. In late 1955 the reorganized government partly introduced legislation again re-establishing the career nomarchs.[11]

65 Whenever I found peasants complaining about their government, I asked
them to list for me what services they received from outside the village.
One of the men who had been complaining most vociferously in a Theban
● [369] village was somewhat startled at this request, especially after he had delivered himself of such eloquent sentiments as: "People in Athens live in paradise; here in our village they live in hell. The Athenians consider us slaves to work so they can eat." But he put his mind to the problem and said:

> [793] What do we receive from outside? Well, our priest is paid by the government
> although we contribute something to the archbishop's funds; our teacher is paid
> [875] by the government and they gave us a little for our school building, but we gave the materials and the labor. As for our roads, the villagers give their labor, break the rocks and put them in place, and then beg the government to help complete the road with machinery. The government engineer will come and supervise.
>
> Our field policeman, who watches to see that animals do not get into the
> [625] growing crops, is paid from an independent treasury; our gendarmes are paid by the central government.
>
> [759] The government does not provide us with medical care, for we have an arrangement [*kondota*] whereby any family agrees to give forty-four okas of wheat
> [758] to the doctor, and he comes when called during the year. This does not include the cost of medicine. If you are not in this system, you pay for each visit.
> [465] We have had this system a long time; it is deeply rooted. We used to pay our
> [793] priest the same way, giving him twenty-two okas of wheat per family before the government took over his pay.

In this village, as elsewhere, we got conflicting opinions about the quality and usefulness of service rendered by the government, but there was a growing awareness that such services were available through the national government.

625 Once, on a return trip from Northern Greece to Athens, while we were
[124] having coffee in Levadeia in Central Greece, the commandant of gendarmes
for that area asked if his wife and he might ride with us to Thebes. During
the drive of less than an hour, we had a lively conversation on many points.
I asked him about the young policemen or gendarmes whom we found in
[701] every village and town. He said that most of them were fulfilling their military service, although as gendarmes they have to do a three-year rather

than a two-year stint. But they do get higher pay than those in the army. 625
They must apply for this service, are carefully investigated before they are [701]
accepted, and then are carefully trained. Some stay on after their three-year tour of duty is up and are given, at the end of twelve years, a lump sum as severance pay. With this, many of them open up some business of their own.

The field guards, also under the Ministry of Interior, are under a different administration but work closely with the gendarmerie, since many cases, 625 659
such as theft from a field, involve both services. The gendarmes, because they are responsible for public security, also make their own investigations. In the village of Kyparissia (Peloponnesos) at the time of our visit, the people were temporarily without the services of field policemen, although they still received gendarme service from Tripolis. They were then working out an arrangement to pay a field policeman in products, although they would hold him responsible if he did not find the animals which had damaged crops. They expected him to work only during the day, for there was little danger at night. Far to the north in Epirus, near the Albanian border, [167]
we came across field policemen who also assumed security functions not only against animals but also against infiltrators from across the Iron Curtain.

The larger villages and towns serving as centers for governmental services enjoy many advantages that the smaller, more isolated villages do not 65 [369]
have. In Dimitsana, in the Gortynia section of the Peloponnesos, the local people say that their economy is kept going only because of the state employees located there. It is the seat of a gymnasium (secondary school), a lower court, the gendarmerie command, a field-guard office, a tax office, and a postal and telegraph office. In Northern Greece the governmental facilities in Stavroupolis include:

1. The court house which serves the area of thirty villages.
2. A police station which also serves a neighboring commune. [625]
3. Farm-security service (field policemen) which operates under the auspices of the government but is supported by a separate local tax on the area.
4. Tobacco board which operates on an area level and is responsible for the taxation and standardization of tobacco. [249]
5. Extension service which serves the whole area. There is a home club which operates under a home agent who belongs to a different institution but is supervised by the extension service. The rural club located in the village operates under the supervision of the extension agent.
6. Forestry-conservation service which controls lumbering and protects the forest sections of the area from erosion.[13]

Perhaps the least appreciated service which the central government carries out for the commune is the collection of those taxes used in the support 651 631
of church, school, police, and a number of advisory services. Many tax

answer than that the farmers were incited by the Rally Party. As if there were any need of incitement in their case. One does not need incitement when one is hungry and sentenced to despair.[18] 664

The year does not matter, the name of the party does not matter, for in Greece a political, if not a social, gulf between the village and the city remains. Since 1952, as a later chapter will show, much has been done through the Agricultural Extension Service and other programs to better the condition of the peasantry. The success of such programs inevitably depends upon the skills and attitudes of those trying to carry them out in the name of the central government, but even more depends on the stability and continuity of the central government so that measures which are under way are not canceled and other political adventures substituted instead. [369] [654]

A peasant or a village president has three ways of straightening out some grievance involving the national government. First, he and his fellows can resort to strikes, demonstrations, and — in the case of the guerrilla war — to the support of those who would change the situation by revolution. Second, he can work through the regular administrative or executive channels already described. Through his local president and through the nomarch, many affairs can be carried to those in a position to settle the grievance, or in some cases he may take the time and trouble himself to go to some responsible official in the appropriate ministry for help. In other words, he is trying to find his way through the administrative apparatus of government and to use it to accomplish some objective. A third approach is to work through the political or legislative rather than the administrative channel. This means going to the representative from his district who serves in the national unicameral legislature in an effort to persuade him to intercede with the proper administrative officials. It might also mean going to some political leader, a former minister perhaps, to see if he can use his good graces in the matter. 622 664 [669] [646]

Enough has been said thus far about Greek officialdom to show some of the difficulties that a villager, as an individual or as a community president, would face in making use of the administrative channels. Are the political outlets any more promising?

I once asked a peasant about a solidly constructed bridge we were then crossing. He said that it was obtained because one of their local people had been a member of parliament and had arranged to have this built. I wondered how long it would be before they had another member of parliament and thereby received some other needed project. And a mayor of one of the Thracian towns confided that he preferred the politically appointed nomarch to the career nomarch because one could go to the members of parliament and have them get an inefficient politically appointed nomarch 662 664

665 the rival party the other sixty percent support. However, should occasion
578 seem opportune, a great number of them might switch to the support of a
third party simply as a means of expressing disapproval of the performance
666 of the ones they have been supporting. But let the men of a village find
some common denominator, such as the erection of a school or a church
building, and they will forget their political differences.

829 In conclusion, the best way to characterize "the peasant and politics" is
in terms of indifference. This is especially true if one looks on politics as
66 an organized way of bringing certain measures to pass through the election
369 of officials committed to carrying them out. This has never worked for the
Greek peasant in the past, and he is dubious about its merits in the future. If one means by politics the utilization of personal and family contacts with politicians and officials to get some gain for oneself, then the peasant can understand its significance and see its value. For, after all, politics and politicians are associated with the city and especially with Athens. Villagers are caught up in the backwash and, in their view of the world, have little importance as active agents. Political phenomena, like the weather, have to be endured, although now and then some useful protection from each might be sought in personal initiative, but not by group effort.

871 Incidentally, the illiteracy rate (in 1951) was 18 percent among urban
[212] Greeks (24 percent of the women, 8 percent of the men); and 30 percent
among rural Greeks (45 percent of the women, 14 percent of the men).
[369] Many extenuating circumstances explain the high illiteracy rate among the
[562] women, for great numbers of them grew up in parts of Greece which were
under Turkish rule during their childhood. Furthermore, education of
women in rural areas has not had the practical significance to the villagers
that schooling a boy would have. As for the younger age groups, they were
deprived of schooling during the war years. Even during the guerrilla war
[669] many schoolteachers stayed away from the villages because as intellectuals
[875] they would have had to take sides either for or against the Communist-led
forces, and they did not want to get involved. Thus children were deprived
of educational opportunities. School buildings also were destroyed. No
wonder the more ambitious among them were asking, "What will happen
to us if we can't read?"

LOCAL SUPPORT FOR THE SCHOOL

871 Local school affairs are in the hands of the school board, which may
consist of the teacher *ex officio* and of two others chosen by the village if
it is small, or of five members if it is larger. The parents of the children in
school are the ones usually involved in the election, but they know full well
that the board can deal only with local matters such as finding money for
current expenses including necessary books for the library, maintaining the
building in reasonable repair, and determining various fees to be paid by
[875] the children. If the teacher, sent in by the central government, is not satisfactory, then the school board can complain to the inspector of schools
but has no assurance that the next teacher will be any better suited to their
needs should the present unsatisfactory one be replaced. Nor does the
local school board have anything to say about what is taught in the school,
since a uniform curriculum is followed throughout the country. In many
[875] parts of Greece, it is customary for the teacher to serve as cashier for the
board, which handles fairly large sums contributed by the local people
and the community council toward the education of their children.

One nomarch in Northern Greece said that out of the two hundred
[634] schools in his nomos (one hundred forty villages and sixty in urban suburbs), the patrons of sixty of them were willingly contributing money to
[653] pay for extra teachers as well as labor to pay for school enlargement. In
spite of the comparatively large sums that are entrusted to the school board,
the nomarch said that he had not known of a single case where money had
been mishandled or misappropriated, a fact he attributed to the serious attitude the people take toward education. One problem, of course, is the
uneconomic attempt by every little village to have its own school. Yet, because of transportation inadequacies, Greece is not ready to support con-

875

They teach 183 pupils, 78 percent of whom attend regularly during spring and early summer and 90 percent during the fall and winter.* 872

Early in my stay in Greece I had occasion to speak at considerable length with the director of one of the leading secondary schools in Athens. Later on, as I talked with village teachers, I found how accurately this educator had sized up the situation. He started off by giving some necessary background: 875

> In my young days we had only four grades in the elementary school and, furthermore, not all villages had schools. Since 1929, the elementary school has been made six years and more villages have gotten schools. Since 1930, the number of pupils attending elementary schools has practically doubled. With the influx of the refugee population in the 1920s there was no possibility of increasing the buildings and staff in keeping with the population. For instance, the secondary-school enrollment has tripled, but unfortunately the revenue of the state has not tripled. Don't forget the four wars (1912–14; 1918; 1922; and 1940–45, with the guerrilla war following that). The northern provinces, especially, have suffered most because of the occupation by the Bulgarians. [872] [873] [727]

He then pointed out that up to 1912 the role of the teacher was far greater than now. When I asked the reason, he said that then only the teacher and the priest were literate, but now the so-called educated people, originally from the village who have spent some time in the city, go back and say that what the priest and teacher advise is not important. This superficial education proves very harmful, he warns, because people who think themselves clever say to the villagers: "Here in the city we work six hours; in the village you work longer." The director then explained: 875 369 [212] [554] 875

> The teachers are far better educated now than before. The university studies are better than they used to be. The spelling is not much better due to the many differences resulting from the use of the popular language [*demotike*] and the "pure" language [*katharevousa*]. After a uniform language is established, the spelling will take care of itself. [197]
>
> About four fifths of the teachers come from rural areas. Although each teacher is better-trained now, he faces many more difficulties than before. Each teacher used to have thirty pupils; now he has sixty and these have to be crowded into the same old building. Every year the proportion of men in the university decreases as the numbers of women rise. Many more women are going into elementary teaching now than formerly because of the low salary. A man cannot support his family on that salary and women take teaching jobs because they have to add to the family income. Also there are many graduates of the pedagogic institutes, who are trained as teachers, but who find better jobs elsewhere and never do any teaching. [465]

He felt it the teacher's duty to be deeply involved in the social life of the village, which required more knowledge about agriculture, coopera- [871]

875 But one must not be too hard on the teacher. The local people do not
156 expect him to be an important agent of change. He is to teach their children so that some of them can go on to the gymnasium and eventually achieve
[212] glory outside the village. He is to be sure that the youngsters learn to read and write, which is becoming a modern necessity even in the out-of-way places in Greece. Along with this he must act the way an intellectual is
● [369] supposed to act. He dresses in the urban styles; he talks of the plays and other activities going on in the city; he even reminds people occasionally how stupid they are to be doubly sure that they respect the knowledge that
875 he has acquired. In many villages if he were to trouble the children about the flies that annoy them, suggest that the water they drank might be impure, or tell the farmers that they ought to be using more fertilizer, he would be branded as a meddler and told to stick to his teaching. It is all right to have a school garden, but this is often viewed as an aesthetic rather than as an educational undertaking. If the school is to make an impact leading toward village improvement, the teacher will need much broader support than he has received in the past from others in the Ministry of Education; his training will have to be modified, and he will have to be relieved from the heavy pupil load that he carries. To expect any teacher, responsible through the day for fifty to sixty children, even if they do come in morning and afternoon shifts, also to take on the task of trying to remake the peasant world is asking more than is reasonable. If the teacher is to prepare children more effectively for a changing world, according to many of those who have studied the Greek educational system, a beginning will have to be made with the curriculum and the textbooks.

872 THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM

873 Any discussion of what is taught in Greek schools must include not only the course of study for the first six grades (elementary) but embrace that for the gymnasium (high school) as well. To be sure, only in the largest villages does one find a gymnasium, of which there are 701 in Greece (1956–57), with an enrollment of 195,000 students and a staff of 4,775 teachers. As has already been suggested, children from the outlying villages who have completed the elementary grades may walk several miles back and forth to the gymnasium in the central town or large village; if they live too far away, several of them may live in a fairly simple dormitory during the week and go home for the weekend. But Saturday is a school day, so the weekends are abbreviated affairs, although now in some cases bus transportation is provided to save the long walks home.

[871] In approaching the curriculum found in the Greek schools it is important to remember that "when Greece became independent in 1830 her primary concern was not to teach her childern how to transform their thinking and behavior from the mentality of an occupied power to that of a self-govern-

873 tion between this curriculum and the requirements of farming in the village. The peasants recognize this, for they do not send the eldest son, who is to take over the farm, to such a school. Some completing the gymnasium will go on to get a university diploma and will therefore find this curriculum directly related to their needs in many university courses. Others [647] will go no further than the completion of high school, but this will be enough to open up certain government jobs to them.

874 But what of the eldest son who expects to farm? Is his education to stop at the sixth grade? In most cases it does, but there are about eight government agricultural high schools in Greece where boys can go to learn to be better farmers. Some of these government schools admit boys who have finished the fourth grade and others require the sixth grade, but all give those who complete the course through the eighth grade a certificate. [647] Here, again, the graduates are not so much interested in going back to their family's small farm as in going on to government jobs in the Ministry of Agriculture as technicians. In the school in Phlorina one can study horticulture and viticulture; in Kozane winemaking has recently been added to horticulture and viticulture; in Ioannina the emphasis is upon dairying and in Larissa upon cheesemaking and horticulture. The others, in the Peloponnesos and Crete, also stress horticulture and viticulture. In addition to the government schools, there are four private agricultural schools: [177] The American Farm School in Thessalonike,[13] and schools in Konitsa, Amaroussi, and the island of Chios. The two government Superior Schools of Agriculture are near Athens and Thessalonike and rank at the university level.

871 The lower agricultural schools as well as certain technical schools in [874] carpentry, brickmaking, and the like, set up by the King's Institute, are viewed by Greeks as training schools rather than as paths to becoming an educated man. In other words, education in Greece is utilitarian in that its pursuit helps one achieve life goals in the government bureaucracy and the social structure of the country; it is not utilitarian in the sense of preparing one for practical or vocational matters while absorbing at the same time general education from courses in language, history, mathematics, and the like. Greece, in this respect, follows the traditional European pattern.

871 Many Greeks are acutely aware of their educational problems. One 369 nomarch told of a move toward closing down some of the classical gymnasiums and putting young people into trade schools. "But this presents problems," he said, "because the boys who finish think they are carpenters or blacksmiths and don't want to go back to the village." He thought the attack upon the flight of the educated people to the cities must begin with the mothers, for it is they who say: "But, son, you have your education; you can't go work in the fields."

the icon of Christ is on his right and that of St. John the Baptist next to it. 795
To his left one sees on the altar the icon of the Virgin, and farther to the 788
left the icon of the saint for whom the church was named. [778]

The congregation stands during the service, except for a few infirm who can lean against supports along the wall; there is no instrumental music, as the priest and the chanter carry the service themselves in a language that
much of the time is unintelligible to the worshippers. The gospels are read [198]
in Koine, or New Testament Greek, and the liturgy, written by St. John Chrysostom toward the end of the fourth century, is in the Greek of that period. When the priest delivers a sermon, he uses his version of katharevousa, if he is sufficiently schooled; otherwise, he speaks in demotike. Apparently the worshippers are moved by the ceremony, the procession, the swinging censers, and the chanting even more than by the actual meaning of the words to which they listen. Now and then in the liturgy, however, come familiar passages which most can understand because of having learned their meaning in school or from some relative.

The worshippers, among whom small children may be running or tug-
ging, include very few men. They come out for special festival services but [852]
show no interest in the regular Sunday-morning service, which is viewed [562]
as the woman's social hour. Even during the service women catch up on the latest happenings throughout the village.

The priest, however, is busy at other times, too. Dorothy Lee describes 771
it this way:
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> Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, urban or 793
> rural, would think of initiating anything important without a religious inaugura-
> tion. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos*, "making holy"; the founda- [369] ●
> tion stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos;* merchants begin new under-
> takings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made [342]
> holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from
> the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are in- [823]
> voked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. . . .
> Priests are called in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties [782]
> arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when
> the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. [789]
> Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought.[13]

The parish as such consists of no such array of organized groups as 793
comprise an American congregation; the priest is not trying to convert the
unbeliever or change the daily life of his people. He is there to help them [794]
meet life's emergencies, to instill a love for their religion and their country,
and to act as peacemaker when disputes threaten the harmony of the com- [627]
munity.[14]

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traits. From time to time, the men of the village may scoff at these myriologia as "women's business," and they certainly do not join in the singing, but many of them would feel uncomfortable if these dirges were not sung in their homes when occasion demanded. In the cities such customs as these are dying out, but not among the rural people.

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The body is washed in wine and prepared for burial, with the interment usually taking place within twenty-four hours. A most vividly recalled procession was that of a seventeen-year-old boy in Metsovo (Epirus) who had been killed the day before by a land mine left over from the guerrilla war. This was a Wallachian (Koutso-Vlach) town, mentioned in my description of the life of the shepherd. We watched the procession form just outside the church. First came a boy carrying the lid of the coffin, since it is still customary to leave the coffin open as the procession moves through the streets of the town; then the altar boys carrying the banners, followed by three priests in their liturgical robes, then the coffin — all in white — carried by six young men in black homespun. Next followed the boy's father, supported by his relatives, a weeping fourteen-year-old brother, then a score of other men. The children from the school playground went up to watch the procession pass. Shortly afterwards, the mother, loudly

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wailing, came out of the church, also supported by her relatives and about forty or fifty women dressed in their traditional holiday costumes, brilliant despite the absence of much of their finery and the heavy accent of black trimmings. They formed a second procession which headed up a hill to the family home because in Metsovo, unlike the villages which are ethnically Greek, the women do not go to the cemetery. The grandmother, easily identified, was striking herself on the head in a display of grief.

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As the two processions went their separate ways, the square remained quiet and even the children seemed hushed in their play. At such moments it is apparent that in a village the family is not alone in its grief, but feels strongly the bonds that bind it to the rest of the community. Although death does mean separation, the villagers deal with it in a way that reinforces the social ties among the living. And grief has its rituals, too, which come down from prehistoric times. Women are supposed to express themselves loudly and in public, giving outlet to their pent-up emotions and freeing themselves from the repressions that might otherwise build up. Men, too, can cry in public, although they prefer to do it in the presence of other men rather than before women.

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In watching the progress of a funeral procession in another village, I noticed that, with its approach, the doors and windows of shops and houses all shut down tightly, but only until the procession passed. Some said this was done "so the evil could not get through" to the living, but people in the village of Terpitsa claimed that they shut the doors so that only the door of the other world would remain open to the dead person.[11]

SOCIAL CLASS IN THE VILLAGE

The notables just described constitute the village élite; they are at the 554
top of the status system and represent the village's contact with the outside 369
world. If they are originally from outside, they are supposed to possess the
qualities that the peasants ascribe to the educated city person. Their repu-
tation in turn is based largely on the traditional classical education which
sets them apart from those less fortunate. As one commentator pointed out:
"The civil servant or poor lawyer has little out of life other than his pres- [647]
tige. This takes the form of petty autocracy and the assumption of supe- [693]
riority over the nonprofessional classes." Such a person coming to live in
the village feels it incumbent upon him to maintain something of a social
gulf between him and the peasants, who also share this feeling. But this
"assumption of superiority" is in itself not enough. It will wear thin after a
while if the individual does not prove himself competent in his job or show
an understanding of the problems that the villagers face. Even if he does
it arrogantly, he nevertheless must produce some benefits for the villagers.
There is a shrewd practicality in the Greek peasant with which any intel-
lectual has to reckon.

Those notables who are from the village, whether educated or not, must also possess those qualities stressed locally. To some extent, they have to fit into the value systems of both the city and the village, not favoring one so much that they alienate those subscribing to the other.

Very few studies have been made of the status distinctions in Greek 565
villages, with the result that we cannot prove or disprove the existence of [554]
regional differences in ascribing status. In a Greek community, as in an
American one, people when asked about class differences will be apt to
deny them, claiming, "everybody here is as good as everybody else. We
have no class distinctions." But as the questioner probes, he learns that one
part of the community is considered a very good residential area and an-
other part very poor; some families are at the very top of the social scale
for a variety of reasons, others are generally recognized to be at the bottom,
and those in between can be sorted out in a loose way according to the
criteria (or social values) prevailing in that place. John Photiadis lists the
following as the factors for class distinction in the Macedonian village he
studied: education; occupation; money; family name; approved achieve-
ment; community activities; origin (whether refugee or not); area of resi-
dence. On the basis of these he delineates three classes in a larger-than-
average village:

> The *upper class* consisting of professionals (doctors, lawyers, teachers), tobacco merchants, larger storekeepers, and office managers.

the economic level of doctors or large storekeepers. Now this factor has diminished considerably concerning tobacco producers and has also affected smaller storekeepers, allowing less chance for them to expand their enterprises.[4] 565 554

He concludes that the ends of the "social pyramid became closer and it is difficult to separate the second from the third class, while the upper class became smaller." Land ownership and money, two factors which were stressed before the war, are no longer very important, for a peasant can rent a field quite inexpensively. With the prices of tobacco as low as they are, land is not in as great demand. [423] [427]

VILLAGE ORGANIZATIONS

Almost every village today has one or more clubs or associations which have been promoted by governmental officials and people from the city in an effort to effect some change in the rural way of life. Most of these organizations appear to be well intentioned and are accepted as such by the local people, but this does not mean that the peasants become eager joiners or loyal members. Other village groups have much deeper local roots: mutual-aid groups and the cooperatives; the church board, the school board, and the community council. In many villages I inquired about the formally organized groups. Three widely scattered communities listed a variety of associations, some of which will be described more fully below: 575 621 [369]

Ano Kleitoria (Peloponnesos): community council, church board, school board, and Friends of the Forest.

Kalivi (Attica): the regular boards, five cooperatives, agro club, hunting club, home-economics club.

Polygyros (Chalkidike, Macedonia): the regular boards, two cooperatives (agricultural, apiary), boy scouts, lawyers' union, athletic club, professional union, medical union, olive-oil union, woman's philanthropic group.

One widespread and rapidly growing organization is the Rural Youth Club, which is modeled on the 4-H Club in the United States and promoted and supervised by the Extension Service of the Greek Ministry of Agriculture. Each member carries out an agricultural project, and together they operate a field owned by the club. In the Macedonian village referred to they also operate the village library located in the community building. They meet once a week to listen to a lecture, which is followed by recreational activities. 575 654 [242]

The women, too, have their own club. It is the home club or home-economics club similar to the Home Demonstration Club in the United States. It includes farm and nonfarm women, young and old. When field work is slack, the members attend classes in canning, sewing, and cooking, several times a month. The home agent helps them acquire knowledge and skill through lectures, demonstrations, and group participation. Often the club has its own workship and kitchen.

178 727 669 166 World War II and the guerrilla war which followed constituted another major social upheaval. Whereas the Nazi forces often wreaked vengeance for sabotage upon settlements close to the main thoroughfares, the Communist forces stayed away from the main highways and brought disaster to mountain villages, such as Valtetsi in the Peloponnesos (Chapter 6). All countries occupied by an enemy suffer social as well as economic disorganization, but the case of Greece was aggravated by the nature of the guerrilla war. In order to protect the exposed rural people and to curb the unwilling (and sometimes willing) support of the Communist forces by the villagers upon whom the guerrillas descended for food and supplies, the central government in Athens removed a number of villagers, estimated at from 700,000 to 750,000, from their homes to quarters near some town [657] or city. Because this was a temporary resettlement, most of the villagers did not become incorporated into the local economy, which was not able to utilize such a volume of labor; instead, these migrants were supported by government subsidy which provided a bare minimum of services. But, as [369] earlier chapters have shown, this exposure of from one to two years to the city had a profound psychological impact upon the women and young people. The women learned that there was an "easier" life; the young people got many new ideas about dress and beauty aids, entertainment, types of indoor jobs, and patterns of greater independence from their parents. One girl who had worked in a factory in Salonica felt ashamed to carry water when she went back to her village, and moreover she wanted a regular income.

[831] [302] According to a prominent Greek child-welfare worker, the changes following the guerrilla war ranged from shifts in such basic values as virginity, with this being less highly esteemed than before the war, to the presence of bobbed hair and permanents in villagers where they had never been seen before. Before the war, such changes had been gradual; now they came suddenly. George Sakellopoulos, the inspector of agriculture in Ioannina, summarized very clearly the impact of this population displacement for his area:

> [515] During the guerrilla war the people had to go to the towns. They lived in homes much better than they had known before. They learned to wash themselves, which many had not done before. When they were persuaded to go back to their villages, they took back the changes they had seen. Many of them went back reluctantly. While they were refugees they had a subsidy. When that was [657] cut off, they could no longer remain in the town house, for they could not pay the owner, who could kick them out. A free distribution of flour was made in the village, and not in the town, so they had to go back to the village to receive it. Then the tractor operators said they would plow only the fields of those who were actually in the village; even the army helped with the plowing. At first, there were some who stayed behind in the towns because their children were in school, but eventually the families were brought together again in the village.

**Whereas the effect of the coming of the Asia Minor refugees was to in- 178
crease the population and heighten the economic activity of the country, the 369 ●
effect of the stay of these northern villagers in town was to loosen somewhat 727
the social cement that holds the kinship group and the village community to- 727
gether.** It set in motion more perceptibly in Northern Greece what has long 669
been characteristic of Central Greece and the Peloponnesos: the urbaniza- [621]
tion of the countryside, in the sense of the spreading influence of urban
ways.

War is not the only source of cataclysmic change. Devastating earthquakes 178
sometimes destroy densely populated areas. In 1953, shortly after we left 731
Greece, earthquakes created havoc on the islands of Cephalonia and Zante.
My former interpreter, Bessie Adossides, described this in a revealing letter: [133]

> As soon as these earthquakes started, Mother and I presented ourselves to the Greek Red Cross and volunteered to go either to Cephalonia or Zante. Thus on August 13th we left via Patras for Zante. Mother was heading a group of eighteen volunteer nurses and, when we arrived at our destination, the whole town was still in flames and the place smelled of burned flesh. The disaster in the town of Zante was complete; only one church, a school, and a bank were standing. The panic, suffering, and agony of the population were indescribable. We found on our arrival that nurses from Patras had set up a provisionary tent hospital, but as there was not sufficient place for all the wounded and sick, these were being shipped to Patras. For two nights we stayed awake as the fire came very near the hospital and we had to be ready to carry everybody on board a ship in the harbor. Luckily this did not happen.

Although this letter describes the efforts of a few individuals, the whole 178
Greek nation was asked to contribute to the reconstruction of these de-
stroyed island communities. International agencies also helped. Such a 731
catastrophic experience, with its rupturing of some social bonds and the 659
forging of new ones, has brought about social changes in the areas affected.
The economic drain resulted in readjustment of the government's plans for economic development, since substantial material resources had to be routed to this area of dire need. A few years before, the city of Volos in Thessaly had been badly affected; earlier it had been Corinth.

No matter what type of cataclysm occurs, when governmental authorities have to step in and assist in reconstruction, there is always the tendency — as expressed by one nomarch — for people to take "distribution of clothing, food, and medical care for granted, hoping it will go on forever." The fact that they have suffered entitles them, so they think, to continued support even after reconstruction days are past.

SOCIAL DRIFT

Even in a country as subjected to catastrophe as Greece, individuals de- 178
cide whether or not to try new ways which they have seen or about which

178 they have heard. Many of these are not forced on the villagers, nor even urged upon them, but have some appeal which causes men, women, and young people to experiment with them. If they give satisfaction, then they become incorporated in the general social patterns. To trace these changes due to social drift would be a review of what has been written so far, yet the comparison of the descriptions by adults of life in their villages when they were young with what one observes there today indicates that over a period of time innovations, both social and technological, reached these villages, were adopted by the bolder individuals, and were imitated in time
178 by others. Within recent years the tempo of change in rural Greece has
511 been speeded up. The Bishop of Messenia, already referred to in the discus-
sion of religion, observed:

> 369 People have now raised their standard of living well above their possibility to pay. They want running water in their home, city clothes, and modern furniture. They don't go into debt necessarily to obtain these things, but they have
> [454] stopped saving as they used to do. When they have money, they spend it; they don't save it. They have made very great strides in education. They all want a road right up to their village so automobiles can reach them; they all want electricity. The changes which would have normally taken fifty years are now compressed into ten.

Greece, therefore, is a good example of the rising level of expectations going on among rural people the world over. Through the "percolation" of ideas and impressions into the rural areas, many people are demanding what the city person has long taken for granted: education, a road to one's door, electricity, and running water.

178 Many factors enter into the decisions by village people to do something new. Population increase or decrease affects life in rural areas. With an increase, the father has to divide his patrimony among more children, with the result that farms get smaller, less efficient, and people approach the poverty line if offsetting measures are not found. With population loss, those who are left have to make many new adjustments.

A study made by two Dutch geographers, de Vooys and Piket, during
178 April and May 1957, of two villages in the Peloponnesos showed the con-
433 nection between population (viewed as labor supply) and social change.
464 The residents of one community, on the edge of the Argos Plain, produce tobacco, olives, and grain, and also raise sheep. The economy is thus transi-
241 tional, between the economy of the plains and that of the mountains. After analyzing the labor requirements of this community and weighing the gains from introduction of modern farm technology, the geographers conclude:

> A burning question in the under-developed countries is how to *increase prosperity*. As a matter of course, enlargement of the very small holdings would be considered the solution where the agrarian sector is concerned. But even if a

178 Closely related to a family head's economic predicament is the demand
for, and therefore the price of, the cash crops that he grows. The tobacco
241 farmer of Northern Greece, the peasant growing olives on Mount Pelion
594 near Thessaly, the apple grower in western Macedonia around Phlorina, and
the producer of currents in the northern Peloponnesos are familiar with the
[435] ups and downs of the world markets. When he shifts from wheat to cotton or
rice, the farmer makes more than an economic decision; he also determines
much about family relationships in his home. Growing wheat calls for a
very different participation of the woman than does the cultivation of rice
in irrigated fields. In the latter case, the farmer also has to submit himself
[312] to the organizational control that the use of irrigated water necessitates,
being ready to divert the stream into his own fields when his neighbor has
[476] used the allotted time for watering his fields. With his neighbors, too, he
must cooperate to keep drainage ditches clear, unless this can be turned
over to some governmental agency. Or, if a family shifts from sheep raising
[233] to settled farming, the fate of the children is apt to be different. In caring
[857] for sheep the children are an important economic asset, which keeps them
away from the house for several hours during the day and even away from
school for two or three years.

178 Social change of the drifting, unplanned sort can be observed among the
young people as well. On a Sunday afternoon a young man recently returned
626 from the army may go up to a young woman in the promenade on
183 the village square and ask if he can walk with her. This may be the first
time that any young man has made this maneuver in this village. The other young people watch with almost unbelieving eyes and, if they see that no serious social consequences are visited upon the innovator, may eventually themselves get around to pairing off. Village opinion, too, may be in for a start when a father and his grown son, perhaps because they want to continue the discussion of some economic transaction in which they are involved, go to sit together in a coffeehouse where it has never been customary before for sons to sit with their fathers. Indeed, as pointed out earlier, the practice may be that sons are not even to enter the coffeehouse where the fathers go. Now and then, particularly in the past, innovators of this sort have experienced unpleasant social pressures of many kinds, which may even have stopped them from trying to change local customs. Today, there is such social ferment, such a mixing of traditional and modern roles, that much more individual variability is permitted.

178 Several times I asked Greek friends who were familiar with village life
369 whether the villager was more apt to imitate what he saw in Athens or what
he saw in a provincial town. In other words, I wondered if the changes
602 emanating from the city were mediated by the townspeople who lived nearer
the villager and in whose community the villager felt more at home. These

observers did not agree on this matter, nor was I able to conduct detailed 178
studies; nevertheless, I gained the definite impression that what counted 369
was not the size of the city so much as the location of family members who
had sought work away from the village. They were often influential agents 602
of change with their relatives back home. This has been more recently confirmed by the investigations of Ernestine Friedl in a Boeotian village:

> Considerable social mobility exists in Greece . . . but this mobility does not [554]
> come at the expense of kinship ties. The family remains a strongly functioning
> unit in spite of the fact that its members may occupy different social positions
> and may live in many different communities — in villages, towns and cities. . . .
> Therefore, it is often the upwardly mobile members of his own family who link [619]
> the villager to the national culture and the national social structure of Greece.
> As a result, not only are cultural and social changes expected in the village, but
> continuing urban influence is an integral part of village life.[7]

She then shows how the grown children, even though living in the city, 423
still have some rights over the father's real property back in the village;
the same applies to a son-in-law living elsewhere, because of his vested 593
interest in the dowry in land which his wife brought to him and which is 606
located back in the wife's village and perhaps farmed by one of her brothers
living there. Dr. Friedl cites four mutually reinforcing patterns of Greek culture which make possible the continuing involvement of the members of the 571
dispersed kinship group in matters of common concern: first, the amount of
time that the Greeks spend in reaching a major decision. It will not be arrived at in a hurry and may take as much as a year or two of discussion.
Second, Greeks consider visiting between country and a city kin a highly 574
favored form of recreation for both parties. Third, this visitation is made
possible by the willingness of the Greeks to double, triple, or quadruple up, 513
sleeping on pallets when beds are insufficient. Fourth, the fact that the rural and urban people involved are kin to each other keeps down much of the suspicion and jealousy that rural people might have of the urban person, thus facilitating continuing interaction.

In personally witnessing this process I have wondered, but never investigated, whether those villagers most vigorous in their denunciation of Athens and city life were those who had no urban relatives.

But one should not overlook the influence that a change in one village 178
has upon those in nearby villages. If the people of one community decide
to put a neglected cemetery in order, then those elsewhere will say, "don't 628
you think we had better do something about our cemetery?" and take steps accordingly, while trying to keep the fact that they are imitating the other village from being obvious. There is, thus, some competition among Greek villages, not an intense rivalry but a desire by those in one village to have

Abroad, our movies, international radio transmissions, and printed material 000 also contribute to the interpretation given to democracy, our economic system, and our social institutions. These facts alone indicate the deep involvement of the United States in the problem of change; but the urgency for a careful reconsideration and a more effective discharge of this involvement is driven home hard by the alternatives for change which the Soviet bloc offers to the new countries grappling with the problems of becoming part of the modern world.

In the face of this challenge, we of the Western world are coming more and more to recognize that the task of our generation is to serve as agents of international social change. Even though as individuals we stay at home, we still play some part in initiating change in many parts of the world through our government and the many private organizations which we support. For Americans this is inevitable, whether or not we like it. It is hard to see that we are all responsible for great changes in Asia or Africa; yet this is grim reality. In a sense, this is what people from many countries mean when they say that the United States must assume more actively its role of world leadership, for they are suggesting that this nation fit itself and assert itself more fully to guide and, at times, even set in motion social, economic, and political change among many peoples. Those urging this position, if one listens carefully, usually qualify their comments by pointing out that there are "right and wrong" ways of exercising this leadership, mistakes to be avoided, and a strong possibility that such a channeling of energies will not necessarily help the United States win a popularity contest, though it may greatly increase respect for this country.

Such a call to leadership is sufficient to make many Americans recoil in horror at the thought of playing the role of some global master-minder, Santa Claus, or do-gooder. And as they pull back, they drop the rational approach with which they face certain aspects of their lives and fall into a much more comfortable emotionalism absolving them from some of the disagreeable consequences of facing facts in today's world. They, as well as the rest of us, need to think through some philosophy of change compatible with democratic ideals and more in keeping with a world moving fast toward the twenty-first century. One of the first requirements is to accept change, rapid and dislocating as it often is, as one of the paramount traits of our times.

The Greek village, chiefly on the receiving end of change, can provide 177 us some clues as to what happens when comparatively isolated villages begin to swing in the orbit of a town or city, or when archaic agricultural prac- 369 tices give way to modern farming. Statistics can tell about the increases in production, but one will have to rely on general observations to discern what such changes bring to social life. We are responsible as American citizens for helping bring about this social redesign in Greek life. What have

177 369 we done, and what are we doing in other countries? Our society is so urbanized that we have to make a real effort, use all possible clues, to understand that what we are doing abroad is to move great masses of rural people toward the type of urban life which they know little about.[1] Three considerations shed light on this general problem: how a peasant is changed into a farmer; what happens when a villager moves to the city or accepts city ways in the village; and how a subject is changed into a citizen. These considerations do not add up to a full picture of rural change, but they provide useful guides for further thought. They also demonstrate that most foreign-aid programs are inevitably agencies for social change.

FROM PEASANT TO FARMER

184 241 [178] In order to feed the people of the cities and to raise the living standards in the villages, the leaders of developing countries are sponsoring programs of agricultural improvement in a variety of forms. The basic purpose of these programs, when viewed in human terms, is to change the peasant into a farmer. In Greece today one finds very conservative peasants as well as those who have become farmers in the most modern meaning of the term, although most rural Greeks fall somewhere in between these extremes. To understand the effects of social change we might examine, one at a time, some of the more prominent traits of the peasant way of life and contrast these with the traits found among farmers in the more industrialized societies.[2]

184 241 511 Perhaps the most striking difference between the two types of farming is the peasant's self-subsistence as contrasted with the farmer's production for a market. In the traditional, relatively isolated peasant village, there are only a few wants which cannot be supplied locally. Because people expect little in the way of material goods, they get along with what they have, buying or bartering a few necessities (nails, salt, kerosene) from outside. The family head, however, thinks in terms of producing enough to feed his family, provide seed for harvest, and have sufficient surplus to sell for cash with which to pay taxes and buy the necessities. His choice of crops and the amount of land devoted to them are determined by family needs, not usually calculated in rational terms but by following customary practices which have seen the family through from one year to the next.

On the other hand, the modern farmer produces for the market. He may even grow very little of his food, preferring to put his energies into growing crops which can be sold at good prices. The income is used to buy a much larger volume of purchases than the peasant would ever dream of. The peasant may be price-conscious at the time he is ready to sell his few bushels of wheat or quintals of rice, but the modern farmer tries to anticipate the price as he plans the next year's production.

It follows from this that the peasant has less need for money than the

or if plowing and other operations can be performed on contract. In any 178
event, the introduction of the type of machinery which reduces labor re- 241
quirements is apt to send people off the farm, whether from the family 184
acquiring the tractor or the poorer farmers who rent their land to a machine
owner looking for a larger area to farm. [464]

Another feature mentioned by Mosher is a further distinguishing trait
between the peasant and the farmer: namely, the greater dependence of 178
the farmer upon the town. The peasant makes occasional trips to a market 184
town, often as much for the excitement of a change as for the economic
benefits he derives. If it were necessary, he could postpone such trips al- 369
most indefinitely, particularly if there were other villagers who would buy
his surplus crop or a calf or who would purchase for him some necessities
from outside. But the man with a machine of a complex sort is dependent [445]
upon the repair shops of the town; moreover, he has bought the machine
there and is financially tied to the town. To the extent that his children
pursue a secondary education, he also develops interests in the center where
the school is located. If good roads are built, and automobiles or cheap
bus transportation become available, he may even seek recreational outlets
in the town.

As the rural people become familiar with town ways, they shift from [291]
peasant dress to the more uniform and less colorful urban clothes. It is no
longer possible to look at a Greek farmer in town and tell what village or
immediate area he is from by the characteristics of his costume; he becomes
anonymous and nondescript, indicating the beginning or even culmination
of a psychological break with peasant life. Money which would have form- [511]
erly been spent in other ways now goes for modern goods and garments;
more cash becomes necessary to maintain the changing standard of living,
and alternative sources of employment have to be found to supplement the
income from the farm.

This increased exposure to town usually carries with it heightened ex- 178
posure to various communication media. In the past, the village has been
the peasant's universe; the main currents of city or national life passed him 184
by. But as he becomes a farmer, he visits the supply store in town to hear 369
about prices, new fertilizers, new types of seeds, new insecticides. At the
same time, he hears about many other things going on in the world. With [20]
the coming of radio to his village, and the occasional newspaper, his distance from town is minimized, but learning from these sources is not quite the same as talking to individuals in the town who claim "to be in the know," whether as well-informed officials or individuals recently returned from the capital city. He also brings back some reading material to ponder over when work is slack. His former mental isolation breaks down.

Such exposure to town influences, along with whatever he learns about [665
government agricultural policies, increasingly involves the peasant in politi- 829]

178 cal life. Traditionally, the peasant was interested in visible benefits from
184 the government: a bridge, an all-weather road, a new school building, a
better priest, or a drainage project. But the farmer moves in his thinking
●369 from concentration on single projects to the more confused level of gov-
665 ernmental policies. He has learned that such policies affect him just as
definitely as some local measure, and he reacts accordingly. In some coun-
829 tries, peasant parties arise, chiefly under the instigation and leadership of
urban intellectuals who see a discontented segment to weld into a political force. Such movements help transform the apolitical peasant into a partisan, a condition which increases his acceptance of the traits of the modern farmer.

184 One could continue the listing of these traits, one set characterizing the
peasant at one extreme and the commercial farmer at the other extreme.
178 Perhaps it will suffice to conclude with a brief examination of some of the
82 less tangible and noneconomic consequences of shifting from a peasant to
a farmer.

The first of these is a new attitude toward nature. The peasant, depending upon the philosophical tradition of which he is a part, may submit and resign himself to the vagaries of nature, or he may actively adjust, fighting flood and drought as best he can. With the technology available to him, however, he is at a great disadvantage. The farmer, on the other hand, has moved toward an attitude of mastery over nature, although he never completely approaches this. It is more than a partnership since the farmer is constantly trying to do something to nature: fertilize the soil, put up trees as shelter belts, tile a field to give proper drainage, spray crops to kill insects and eliminate plant disease, and apply contour plowing.

178 A second subtle, though no less real, attitudinal change deals with the
growth of individualism. This occurs as the young people tend to liberate
184 themselves, in some ways at least, from the authority of their parents. They
156 begin to express their own personalities, to stand on their own feet, not as
a reflection of a family group but as individuals in their own right. It also means that a farmer, in determining a new course of action, is much less inclined than the peasant to wonder what the neighbors would think; instead, he tries to calculate the economic return, the saving in labor, or the greater productivity. Peasants know that if they depart too far from the accepted practice, they are considered disruptive and may wake up one morning to find their haystack burned down as a sign that they had better conform. The open-field system and communal nature of much of peasant life leaves little room for too many exceptions to the general rule. On the other hand, when local villagers have been persuaded that a new practice is desirable, it can be carried out much more quickly and effectively than if every family head had to be contacted as a separate individual. The informal channels of communication in a village are amazingly fast and,

178 184 peasant is rapidly becoming a farmer. But what about those who leave the village, displaced by the machine or attracted by opportunities elsewhere? What transformation do they have to go through if they are to adjust to urban and industrial life?

FROM VILLAGER TO URBANITE

● 369 Although this study of Greek life has concentrated upon the village, some observations about villagers transplanted to the city have relevance to foreign aid as a force for change. If farm workers are displaced by the machine, they tend to gravitate toward population centers where they hope to find work as general laborers or to follow some small skill they may have acquired. The coming of factories usually means some migration of labor, much of it frequently stemming from the rural areas. In fact, in the Western sense, to industrialize means to de-ruralize.

Any foreign-aid program, therefore, which creates new urban centers or leads to the movement of rural people to older centers in search of jobs is introducing not only a type but a tempo of change that must be taken into account in the allocation of economic resources. Some funds will undoubtedly have to be used to ease the transition for those making the move if they are not to become a discontented proletariat. This becomes more evident when we see what happens when a villager becomes an urbanite.

One of the first effects is for the villager to find himself immersed in a much more heterogeneous society. Occupations are more numerous, specialization is greater, and social extremes — the rich and the very poor — are more pronounced than anything he had experienced in the village. There is an intoxicating excitement in the possibilities that seemingly lie before him, although he realizes early in his stay that lack of training and insufficient income limit the realization of many of the more desirable alternatives. He comes face to face with people deriving from different cultural backgrounds, encounters different religious and ethnic groupings, and can participate in recreational pursuits not known in his native village. This richness, this complexity of urban life often calls for living techniques not acquired in the village. As a substitute, therefore, those recently arrived from rural areas may live with others of their kind in a semifolk environment in parts of cities where they are to some degree insulated from the total impact that the city might make upon them.

A second effect of migration to the city is that life becomes job-focused. One's fortune rests not only on the kind of job one has but frequently upon the mere fact of having a job or not. As a peasant back on the farm he had many tasks to perform, but these varied with the season and could often be done at a time of his choosing, within limits. But as an employee, whether a general laborer on a construction project or a worker in a factory, he moves into a different way of life. He must subscribe to a new type of authority — the boss. With some of the younger migrants, the boss may become a father-surrogate; for others, he may represent a challenge to their independence.

Furthermore, a job-focused life means a regimented routine, particularly if fellow workers in an assembly line are dependent upon one's own performance. In such cases, others make decisions which one has to carry out. Along with this, a time consciousness, not necessarily present in the village, has to develop, particularly if factory managers are Western-trained. To live by the clock instead of by the sun calls for a major psychological orientation for many villagers.

Also inherent in this arrangement is the fact that the individual and not the family becomes the economic unit. To be sure, different family members may bring their earnings to a common family purse, but they each must go out to tasks over which the family as a group has no control. And as the individual becomes economically more prominent in his environment, he finds his security increasingly in the skills which he possesses. Industrialization and urbanization, therefore, work out part of their changes simply because jobs loom large and life becomes focused on them.

The villager while changing into an urbanite may need welfare and housing programs, largely governmental in origin. He may try to maintain connections with others in the city who have come from his same area; he may have relatives nearby upon whom he can depend in times of emergency; he may never completely cut off his ties with his home village; but he quite often stands in need of unemployment compensation, his wife may need maternity care in a government-run maternity home, and his children may need shots to protect them from diseases. A foreign-aid program which finances factories but gives little consideration to the welfare needs of the people moving into these factories is overlooking an important social dimension. The developing countries also need help in learning effective welfare and health practices as well as in mastering machine technology at the management level.

For the transplanted villager mass organizations may possess some attraction. He may be persuaded to join a labor union without fully realizing what membership involves; he may be talked into participating in a political-action group with no knowledge of the ideology behind the action; or he may content himself simply with belonging to some regional association made up of people from his own native area. One can safely predict that most villagers will not actively seek out the mass organizations but that many of them will get caught up in them with no clear picture of their nature. Should they find the leaders of these groups voicing their own aspirations or resentments, then the new urbanites gain a sense of belonging in an otherwise alien world. Although not touched upon in preceding pages, the work of the labor specialists in the American Mission to Greece de-

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369 [177] [467] serves special commendation. They provided for the Greek labor leaders a type of training which not only made them more effective officials but which also instilled a sense of responsibility in many of them. A similar type of training was not held for the new managers of industries being created with funds furnished by the United States.

Finally, the newcomer to the city has to develop a self-discipline which was not necessary in a village where intimate social controls were so permeating. To hold a job, one must live by certain rules and routines; to keep out of trouble with the police or with neighbors in a workers' apartment house, one must respect the rights of others; to receive promotions, one must add to one's knowledge and skills or else win the favor of those in positions of superiority. It is in these connections that adult-education courses or people's universities (for the working class) serve a useful purpose, even though reaching only a fraction of the eligible population. To visit these classes and to watch daily laborers, some born in the city and others in the villages, strive for more education makes one aware of the changes being ushered in on every hand in these developing countries.

FROM SUBJECT TO CITIZEN

641 [648] Almost every developing country has within its recent memory the fact of liberation from some outside power. The more than four centuries of Turkish rule have left their imprint on Greek local government, as have the heroic episodes connected with the Greek war of independence. Other countries, more recently liberated, have even more vivid memories of what it means to be a subject whose political fate is decided at the seat of an empire far removed from the subject's homeland.

[177] One purpose of our foreign-aid program, at least as enunciated by some of the most authoritative American spokesmen, is to help establish democratic forms of government wherever people can be found who are receptive to this development. But democracy as we conceive it calls for an enlightened citizenry, conscious of the fact that much sovereignty resides in its hands and that regularly scheduled elections provide an opportunity to express its will. It also assumes that governmental leaders will be aware of and responsive to the rise and fall of public opinion about crucial issues.

It is appropriate to ask, therefore, what the necessary conditions are for the shift of an individual from the position of a subject to that of a citizen. Once this is understood, its connection with a foreign-aid program becomes apparent. Again, observations of the Greek scene help us to understand other areas.

The first condition which usually, though not invariably, comes about is the rise of nationalism and the identification of an individual with a larger political entity. Any study of village life will reveal the parochialism of many villagers, which in the developing countries means that they are not

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The Family: Consumption Habits

511 INCREASED INCOME resulting from technological advances in Vasilika has
594 given the present generation in the village a wider choice of alternatives for allotting their resources than that enjoyed by their predecessors. The
[454] first call upon the family's income, after the needs of subsistence, is felt to be the accumulation of a dowry for the daughters and (since there is rarely land enough for all) the provision of an education or apprentice-training for all the sons except the one or two who could eventually be provided with enough land to farm profitably. The process by which these obligations are fulfilled is the subject of the next chapter. Here, our concern is with the goods and services used by the villagers, with particular emphasis on the overtones of meaning that accompany them.

[574] The differences among the households of Vasilika in furnishings, foods, clothing, and hospitality patterns are not great on an absolute scale, but the
[556] small differences have, on the local scale, as much significance to the people of Vasilika as the corresponding differences do in any middle-class suburb in the United States. Family self-respect is maintained, and family rivalries are carried on in the village partly by demonstrating levels of taste through consumption habits.

511 What the villagers admire and try to emulate are standards of living and
369 of taste as they perceive them to exist in the towns and cities. Their knowledge of these standards is acquired through the first-hand information brought back by their town relatives and by what they themselves notice on their own visits to urban centers.

The base to which the new standards are adapted, or for which they are substituted, is a set of patterns for rural living customary in the Boeotian countryside.

353 The wedding crowns, white wreaths of small artificial flowers, are a necessary
594 part of the Greek Orthodox wedding ritual, and, indeed, give a name to the
ceremonial to distinguish it from an engagement. *"Stefanothikan akoma?"* "Have
[585] they been crowned yet?" is one way to ask whether a couple are married or still
[584] merely engaged. The crowns, which were blessed as part of the wedding, symbolize
the founding of a new family under God, and their preservation is an
expression of the desire to preserve the health and welfare of the family. That
[782] the intercession of the saints is a valuable form of assistance in coping with the
problems of life is taken for granted in Vasilika; the icon with the light burning
[778] before it and the prayers addressed to the saint constitute a regular plea
for the holy one's protection of the family.

342 The importance of the house as an adjunct of the life of the family is
594 further emphasized by the request each family makes to have a priest bless a
new home before the family moves in. An *ayazmos*, as it is called, places the
778 house under God's protection, in the villagers' view, and the ceremonial is significant
because building a house is a new and hazardous venture for a family
whose success in this world as in the next, it is assumed, is ultimately in God's
hands.

Cleanliness and Order

514 Sanitary facilities in Vasilika play a part in each family's striving for
sophistication. A few households have no latrines. The majority have a small
511 wooden outbuilding or a partitioned section of a storehouse for a Turkish-style
toilet. This consists of a large excavation in the ground lined with stones and
rocks, covered by wooden planks which form the floor of the latrine proper.
There is no seat, but the planks are arranged so as to leave a small opening over
which one squats to relieve himself. The newer facilities stand as separate structures
made of brick, and the floor is cemented so that there is a slight slope
toward the center opening. Finally, the best of these arrangements is one in
which a specially designed ceramic floor fixture is imbedded in the cement flooring.
[369] From the villagers' point of view, the newer latrines are not valued because
[626] they constitute better sanitation, but because the villagers' urban relatives
have been ridiculing them for not having some kind of toilet.

356 Just as the public world of the villagers is a world of men, so the house
in Vasilika is primarily the domain of women. Women take pride in the skill
[462] with which they accomplish their many housekeeping tasks; they gain some satisfaction
from completing each day's ordinary chores, as well as from the successful
and skilled completion of their trousseau items. The standards of good
housewifery in the village require considerable expenditure of time and energy
on the maintenance of the home. Villagers value order and cleanliness—order
356 in the sense of stylized neatness, and cleanliness as an avoidance of obvious dirt.
353 We have already mentioned the neat piles of bedding covered with snow-white
cloth. When the household has no wardrobe, there is a white covering over the
[296] clothes hanging on the wall that protects them from dust, and also creates an
[515]

Clothing

178 Apart from the house, its outbuildings, and furnishings, the most im-
291 portant item which signifies a family's degree of modernity in Vasilika is cloth-
[511] ing. The old traditional rural costume of the region has not been worn in
Vasilika, on the estimate of the oldest residents of the village, since their child-
[292] hood in the 1890's and early 1900's. Couples were married in the old costumes
somewhat later than that, but brides and grooms have been wearing hired white
[427] wedding gowns and ordinary lounge suits, respectively, at their weddings for at
least a generation. The traditional regional clothing, the short white ballet-like
skirts for men and the long dresses with embroidered vests for women, are now
worn only by the school children in the playlets they present on patriotic oc-
casions.

291 Men's outer clothing today follows the standard European style of dark
[177] lounge suit, shirt, socks, and low oxfords. The middle-aged and older farmers
avoid wearing neckties even on special occasions, since these stand for urban
● [369] professional occupations. Some of the younger farmers did wear neckties for
Easter in 1956 and were strongly criticized for doing so. The young men of
[626] the village dress much as their elders do, except that they make an effort to keep
[292] up with changing urban styles in coat-sweaters and shirts. Only one man in the
village wears a fedora hat, a sign of leisure in Vasilika. The rest of the men,
when they wear any head covering at all, wear cloth peaked caps. Winter over-
[177] coats are also of standard European style. The same type of clothing is used by
men for work in the fields. They merely save old clothes for the purpose and
wear a sweater instead of a suit jacket. Older men wear long woolen underwear
all through the year. The young men and boys do not—they work in shirt sleeves
more frequently than the older men do. Except for overcoats and sweaters, men
wear the same kind of clothing thoughout the year.

291 There is a slightly greater variation in women's clothing patterns, based
[184] on age as well as on income. Women in their forties or older wear dark blue
homespun skirts with long-sleeved blouses and woolen cloth shawls for warmth.
[511] They always wear long lisle stockings and cloth slippers. A brown kerchief,
wound around so that it forms a kind of close-fitting cap or helmet, is rarely
removed by these women—one even wore it in bed throughout a hospital stay.
[302] Under the brown kerchief their hair is left long and dressed in braids around
the head. Over the brown kerchief, for work around the house or in the fields,
these women put on an additional kerchief, usually white in color, which is
loosely tied under the chin for most kinds of work. They pull the ends around
[765] to cover their mouths when they do heavy work in the fields. In Vasilika, the
colors of the outer kerchief indicate only whether or not a woman is in mourn-
ing. Black kerchiefs (and black clothes in general) are a sign that a woman is
in mourning for a close relative; dark-colored kerchiefs indicate that she is in
[554] mourning for a more distant relative. The village women also associate the
outer kerchief with their status as rural women who work in the fields.

291 schoolgirls. Since the same clothing is usually worn indoors and out during the
511 winter, small boys and girls wear cotton pinafores over their outer coats in order
[286] to prevent too fast soiling. Some mothers knit sweaters for their children, but
gloves are not worn for warmth either by children or by adults. Uncomfortably
cold hands are expected throughout the winter, and during this season, as they
enter a house, people frequently walk directly to the front of the fire and extend
their hands towards the flame. Some of the young girls wear thin gloves, for
show rather than for warmth, when they go to church. Children, like their
parents, are now expected to have new clothes at Easter, and, if possible, for
other holidays as well. They must be neatly dressed for school. A few of
Vasilika's children wear torn, patched, faded clothing out of economic necessity.

Urbanity vs. Convenience

●369 The urban acquisitions relieve some of the work load and add to the
511 variety of life, and the villagers frequently express satisfaction at having the
312 new conveniences and the new relief from boredom. But convenience seems to
406 be welcomed less for its own sake than as a by-product of goods and practices
that are primarily valued for their air of urban sophistication, of "progress." For example, most of the wells in the village have no windlasses to ease the labor of bringing up the pails full of water. Women simply keep a rope attached to a pail, lower the pail into the well, and use the rope to lift it out again, hand over hand. The water level in many of the wells is low, so that drawing a pail of water is hard physical labor which must be done at least twice a day, but the women did not agitate for windlasses in the way they did for cement basins, for obviously, windlasses have no urban cachet about them. They do want running water in the homes—an urbanism—and it will, incidentally, relieve them of the drudgery of drawing so much well-water, but for a generation, the presence of a few windlasses in the village did not inspire other families to acquire them.

369 The overt recognition on the part of the villagers that they admire and
354 accept the new items because they stand for progress and sophistication and not
entirely for whatever utility they may have is exemplified by the comment of one
511 of Vasilika's less prosperous inhabitants whose living conditions were among
the least favorable in the village. His house did, in 1959, have electricity, however, and he had one naked bulb hanging in the center of his one small upstairs room. This man described for us his feelings about a recent visit he had made to the *paniyiri* of a mountain village which had no electricity. "I couldn't stay there
[329] more than a day," he said. "They had no electric light, and I cannot live like
[177] that any more. I have become a European," he concluded, with a smile, using
the term that Greeks use for the inhabitants of Europe west of the Adriatic.

369 A second reason for the acceptance of new uses for cash is simply the rivalry
511 among Vasilika's families. If one family with urban connections has something
new, other families make an effort to get the same thing. One of the effects of
556 the process is that some families whose incomes barely enable them to subsist

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sometimes use their meager cash resources on plastic tablecloths or new clothes, 511
as a token of their participation in the battle for prestige. [556]

One important characteristic of the changes in the villagers' consumption
habits is that virtually all the substitutions and additions require the villagers to 454
dip into their cash resources. In this respect, the new needs act as a spur to the 433
cash crop economy of the settlement and provide motivation for more efficient
farming. Increased efficiency in farming adds to income and it becomes possible 178
to finance still more innovations. The extent to which this kind of interrelated 511
process can continue is, of course, dependent on world markets for the villagers' produce, on the level of economic activity in the entire Greek nation, and, more specifically, on the extent to which the population no longer needed on the farms can be productively employed in the towns and cities. The inheritance and dowry system of Vasilika's residents is central to this matter and is the subject of the next chapter.

share of the land at the time of their marriage, the shares remaining for the sons 428
will be too small to enable them to support their future wives and children, the 583
family recognizes the problem and tries to make some adjustment that will 423
prevent the threatened poverty. The villagers are well aware of the dangers of
land fragmentation under a system of equal inheritance. The average land holding in Vasilika is already only one-third to one-fourth of what it was at the
time the village was settled. Thanks to the introduction of irrigation and [433]
improvements in agricultural techniques (see Chapters 2 and 3), both the bulk
of yields and the cash value of the crops in the area have increased to the point at which the farmers maintain a higher standard of living on the smaller holdings than their grandfathers did on the more extensive ones. But the process has its limits, and the future possibility of economically useless small holdings is a real hazard for Vasilika's families.

One kind of solution to its problem is for a family to try to train or edu- 368
cate its "surplus" sons for a nonfarming occupation; if possible, one that will 463
send them to the towns and cities as white-collar workers or as professional men.
This effort, however, is more than merely a solution to a recognized problem. 871
Status as an urbanite has very high value for the villagers in its own right. As [594]
the previous chapter has shown, the families of Vasilika try to import urban ways
into the village; their efforts to send their own sons and daughters directly into [166]
the towns and cities may now be discussed. For quite apart from the necessities of their situation, the people of Vasilika act as if they assumed that life in towns and cities is superior to life in a small village. This judgment is not based on a belief that there is necessarily greater economic well-being in the towns. On the contrary, the villagers believe it is more difficult to achieve a respectable standard in the larger centers and, indeed, that the plight of the poor is worse in the town than in the village. They say it is harder to have little when one is tempted by so much. But the villagers respect an educated man; education enables a person to pursue occupations which the villagers believe have greater prestige than farming, and the preponderance of these occupations are practiced in towns. Not only white-collar workers but also journalists, lawyers, doctors, writers, gymnasium and university professors congregate in the provincial towns and in Athens (cf. Antonakaki 1955:93). Even if a young man from Vasilika is not fortunate enough to work in one of these favored occupations—even if he is a tailor or a barber or an artisan of another type, or a small merchant—he is believed to acquire some aura of prestige simply by living in the more populous center.

The young girls of Vasilika want to marry into the towns because they 368
are well aware of the greater physical ease and comfort available there and con- [166]
trast these conditions favorably with the arduous and endless labor they are ac- [581]
customed to in the village.

Still another incentive for gaining the status of a town dweller is the
belief, in Vasilika, that life in town is more full of adventure and less monoto-
nous than life in the village. Besides, the towns and Athens have crowds, and [591]
polis cosmos (many people) are enjoyed by the villagers for their own sake. A [796]
paniyiri or Easter is considered successful in proportion to the number of people

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571 the village attracts, and the villagers comment on their satisfaction at seeing some 796 different faces.

A caveat may be in order here, however. No matter how much the vil- 369 lagers like the variety of life in the towns, and no matter how much they dislike 461 the tiring and messy work on the farms, when they actually live in the village and are engaged in the work in the fields and at home, they work hard, steadily, and with a will. The people of Vasilika do not believe work is ennobling in itself; they seem to have no compulsive need to work to achieve self-respect, but they accept the need for hard labor as a means to the end of support for the family. Therefore, the villagers expect the farmer and his household to work 594 hard and for long hours if an agricultural existence is their immediate fate, but do not condemn some farmer if he tries to arrange a different fate for his chil- 554 dren. If he is unsuccessful, and all his sons stay on the farm, or if his daughters are married off to farmers, there is no disgrace in that either, as long as he did the best he could. And if a farmer can bequeath a good farm to any of his sons and the son manages the property skillfully, the economic success of the farm brings a measure of prestige, in Vasilika, to father and son alike.

163 Within the context of these values let us consider how the dowry and in- 842 heritance system functions in Vasilika. Sometimes after a farmer marries and has had at least one child, it would appear that he and his wife consider the ques- 511 tion of how many more children it would be sensible for them to have. 178 The parents recognize that the more children they have, the harder it will be to provide adequately for the future of each of them. Therefore, regulation of the size of families is accepted in the village as obviously prudent and sensible. The villagers explain that more children survive nowadays as a result of modern medical care, and that this obviates the need to have a large family in the hope that at least two or three of the children will reach maturity. In Vasilika, some 844 prenatal care and confinement in one of the proprietary hospitals in Levadhia is 554 recognized now as the safest kind of maternity care and also has the most pres- 743 tige (Friedl 1958). Such care immediately increases the cost of childbirth and 759 is a drain on the family's resources. But even those families whose babies are born at home with the aid of a traveling government-trained midwife are ex- 855 pected, as we have seen, to provide better food and finer clothing for their children than earlier generations provided for theirs. The added expense of rearing children has not been counterbalanced by any increase in their economic value on the farms. On the contrary, less labor is regularly needed, as Chapter 2 has shown.

The trend to smaller families seems to have started back in the 1920's. Genealogies show that the parents of the marriageable young adults of the middle and late 1950's had already limited the size of their families to a mode of four children in contrast to their parents who typically had had eight. The overt statements made by married men and women of all ages including the sixty- and seventy-year-old widows indicate that the change is deliberate and coincides with their expressed attitudes. Parents who have more children than they can adequately feed and care for are accused of behaving like animals; they

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are said to have neither brains nor self-control. Parents with marriageable chil- 842
dren were, therefore, in 1961, contemplating the division of their estates into 511
fewer portions than their parents had done before them. 178

As his children are growing up, a farmer calculates approximately what 871
he must give his daughter or daughters for dowries and how much will be left
for each of his sons to share. If it is fairly obvious that the share left for the 511
sons will be insufficient to support each of them, the farmer tries to make some [594]
other provision for one or more of the boys. Any boy who shows promise as a
student is encouraged to continue his schooling beyond the compulsory sixth-
grade elementary school in the village. Education is so highly prized that some-
times even an only son who might inherit an adequate farm is allowed to con-
tinue his education if he shows ability in academic subjects. The next step after [647]
elementary school most commonly chosen by the villagers is the six-year classical
or humanistic gymnasium which serves as a necessary base for any civil service
or white-collar post, and also for further study in the university or in specialized
advanced technical schools. Although there are some private gymnasia, most of
the farmers of Vasilika have sent their sons to the virtually free public institu-
tions (Antonakaki 1955:39). These are in the provincial towns or in Athens,
so that although there is little tuition charge, the farmer must pay for his son's
board and room, for his school supplies, and for adequate clothing. Whenever [591]
possible, children are boarded with an aunt or uncle who lives in the town, but
even under these conditions, farmers pay a fee to the relatives to cover the cost
of their children's care. Sometimes, to keep food costs down, a mother prepares a
basket of bread, cheese, and perhaps a vegetable stew for her son, places it in
the bus bound for the town in which the boy goes to school, and the boy picks
up the basket at the bus depot.

Whatever the particular arrangement, schooling involves an expenditure 871
of current income, and the farmers consider that the cost of educating a son is 554
about equivalent to a major portion of his share of the inheritance. The Greek 594
Civil Code makes a specific provision for this view by declaring that educational 428
expenses beyond those normally to be expected from the economic position of
the family may be counted as part of the inheritance (Section 1895). In Vasi- [671]
lika it is assumed that a gymnasium-educated young man will spend the rest of
his life living in some town, and that he will receive only a token share of the [166]
land after his father's death or at the time of the division of the estate. His
parents, brothers, and sisters remaining in the villages as farmers gain in social [369]
stature and in potential actual advantage from his residence in town in a pres-
tige-giving occupation. Both the legal code and village custom, then, involve the [671]
recognition that when farmers or shepherds undertake to educate their sons
beyond the village school, they are striving for an improved status position in
the nation as a whole, and that if sons succeed in the new prestige-giving occu-
pation, they are the agents of upward social mobility for the family. Among
Vasilika's land-owning farmers, an educated son gives the village the added ad-
vantage of a larger amount of land to divide among the remaining children. For
farmers and shepherds who have very small land holdings or none at all, the

871 sacrifices necessary to keep an academically talented son in the gymnasium are
594 undertaken with enthusiasm, because such a son gives promise both of increasing
[428] the income of his family and of raising its social position.

Although not all of Vasilika's boys who start the gymnasium have sufficient
[554] talent or self-discipline to complete the course, a majority of them do so and give observable evidence of the feasibility of sending boys for advanced schooling. In 1959, of the thirty-four boys and young men who were between the ages of twelve and thirty and who were also sons of farmers, sixteen had attended or were then attending gymnasium, and three of the sixteen had received or were still receiving some education at a higher level. By 1961, as we have seen, a shepherd's boy had completed a year in gymnasium. Whether all these sons will succeed in finding employment commensurate with their educational qualifications depends, of course, on the economic development of the nation, and especially on the increased possibilities for employment in the towns and in Athens. In Vasilika each educated young man and his family hope that he will not have to return to the village to live.

The pattern of educating sons is not a new one in the village. With few
[166] exceptions, the groups of middle-aged brothers and of young adult brothers and
[369] sisters in the village in 1961 could boast of one additional brother who was living in a town or in Athens, and each of these men had had some education beyond the village school. There were also two men in this age group who were living in the village but had had some gymnasium training.

167 A second solution to the problem of surplus sons well known in the history
594 of Greece has been emigration out of the country itself. In the decade between 1910 and 1920 about four young men left Vasilika for the United States. One of these returned to fight in the Balkan Wars of 1912 and has lived in the village ever since. The other three are still in the United States. In the 1930's, one man left with his wife and child for Tanganyika. The extent of continuing association with these overseas relatives is different in each case; one man returned to Vasilika to visit his brother in the early 1950's and stayed for only a year; another wrote sporadically; a third disappeared and his son knew only that he had died in the States. The Tanganyika relatives, however, continually
[457] sent packages to their village cousins, and the son of the original emigré, who
[829] had died, returned to the village with his mother in 1959. The villagers always referred to the packages from Tanganyika as gifts from America and referred to the Tanganyikan, even after his return, as "the American." Apparently, the word "America" in the village is a generic term for an El Dorado abroad. However,
[123] emigration out of the country is not currently of interest to the villagers; no one in the village ever asked us for help in arranging the emigration of one of their sons to the United States, though joking references to our taking young people back with us were not uncommon.

166 Up to this point, then, we may conclude that the system of equal inheritance
369 of property and the villagers' approval of urban living have led to an
actual geographical movement of young men out of Vasilika and to a social
428 movement into occupations other than farming for young men who have grown
511 up in the rural settlement. Another aspect of the situation is that income from

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land directly supports boys who live in towns both during their years in school 369
and until they find a job. The possible importance of this for the urban economy 428
of Greece will be discussed again in connection with dower wealth that is transferred to the cities. 511

Dowering the Daughter

182

The dowry shall be discussed first as the social mechanism by which daughters inherit property at marriage, and second as a mechanism for social mobility. In Vasilika, parents are obligated to arrange marriages for their children, and with few exceptions they do so. They most frequently look for spouses outside of the village. They expect that a girl will leave the village to live with her husband and that a farming son will bring his wife to Vasilika to live with him (technically, patrilocal residence). In Vasilika, when the villagers speak of the engagement of a man or a woman, they say, "He (she) has become engaged in Mirali;" or in Sfaka, or in Athens, or in whatever village or town the prospective spouse comes from. They explain the prevalence of exogamy, to which the phrase just quoted gives linguistic expression, by saying that it is too difficult to find, inside Vasilika, anyone who is sufficiently distantly related to be eligible for marriage. 583 [584] 582 [591]

The custom of the village prohibits marriage between relatives on both the mother's and father's side to the degree of third cousin. In a village with a total population of 216, in which there are six sets of adult brothers and one group of three men whose fathers were brothers, there will certainly be limits to the number of boys and girls eligible to marry each other. The number of families connected by kin ties in the village is even larger, however, because in each generation there are some marriages that do take place among fellow villagers and this, of course, relates some of the village's children to each other through their mother's line, even if their fathers have no paternal relatives in Vasilika. Kinship connections are further extended within the village by the ceremonial kinship ties of godparenthood. On the ground that any godparental relationship between two individuals automatically places not only the individuals concerned but both their elementary families into close kin relations, the Greek Orthodox Church prohibits marriages between the two families to the same degree that would be necessary if they were consanguineal; that is, blood relatives. 58 6 [60 79]

When a daughter is to be married, the father of the girl is believed to have ultimate responsibility for giving the dowry. However, the brothers' interests are involved, the mother is deeply concerned about the future of her daughter, and certainly the girl herself wants to know something about her prospects. In the informal discussions that go on within the family, everyone participates and expresses his point of view. The father alone, however, has the formal responsibility for conducting the negotiations, which are always carried on with the aid of a *proksenitis* or *proksinitra* (marriage intermediary). In the Boeotian countryside, this person (either a man or a woman) is a friend or relative, either 584 [58]

or in a regular pattern of circulation through several generations among particu- 602
lar sets of such groups. The control of property establishes social links between 428
a man and his wife's relatives not only in the ways we have mentioned, but 425
because his wife's parents and brothers and sisters have a legal and customary [611]
right to be consulted before the final alienation of dower property (Section
1418). These links last only one generation, however, so that in each generation [583]
a new network of relations between elementary families in the neighborhood
develops, clustering around the management of dower properties. These matters
are important because they reveal some of the economic and social structure of
Vasilika and its neighborhood that is congruent with the type of relationships
people, both kin and non-kin, have with each other (see Chapter 5).

One other situation occurs frequently enough in Vasilika to be worth 591
mentioning. When a farmer has no sons to inherit his land and his house, but
has a daughter, the father may acquire a man's assistance on the farm by im- [428]
porting a son-in-law. Such a man is called a *sogbambros* in Vasilika; he is a [596]
husband who moves into his wife's household instead of vice-versa. The impor-
tation of a *sogbambros* is also a solution to the problem of a young widow who [587]
has no grown sons to run the farm left by her husband and arranges a second
marriage for herself with a man who is willing to work her first husband's
holdings and her original dower lands. Since a *sogbambros* is always a manager 558
of, and the laborer on, property belonging to others and is expected to bring no
property of his own with him, there is a slight social stigma attached to the 591
status of Vasilika. The villagers say also that a *sogbambros* is not "master in
his own house." Certainly, the lot of a man who is not a master in his own [609]
house and comes as a stranger to a village where most of the other men have
known each other all their lives is not a happy one. But a *sogbambros* is not
really dishonored by his position; the villagers, in this situation, as in so many
others, recognize the practical necessities which brought about the arrangement
and do not strongly condemn a man for making the best of his difficulties.

The dowry in Vasilika enters into the life of the villagers in other ways 581
besides inheritance at marriage. It has long served as a means of upward social
mobility for girls. Since, as we have seen, the marriage of a daughter is among 583
the most important obligations of parents, the dowry comes into the conscious- 556
ness of the villagers more often as a property requirement for marrying off their 182
daughters than as a means of transmitting inheritance. When, in addition, the
high value placed on upward social mobility is translated into an effort to find 428
urban sons-in-law for one's daughters, the dowry emerges as a mechanism for 369 ●
increasing the social prestige of the family. Farmers are willing to give larger [573]
dowries in exchange for the great satisfaction they derive from having town
sons-in-law. In Vasilika, the education of some sons has released land to add to
the girls' dowries. Improved agricultural income has also enabled the farmers
to give larger dowries. In the decade ending in 1959, every marriage of a Va-
silika daughter whose father was in the upper half of the village's income range
had been one with a man of respectable occupation who lived in a provincial
town or in Athens. The husbands are tailors, small retail store-owners, or civil
service workers. One young man is a photographer, another is a gymnasium

professor who has become the principal of his gymnasium. In 1961, however, 581
the son of a rather prosperous village farmer became attracted to a daughter 583
of another Vasilika farmer with good land holdings. The young man asked his 556
father to arrange the marriage for him, and, since all the conditions were en- 182
tirely suitable, the young couple were engaged.

The trend in favor of town husbands prevails, however, among most of 428
those who can afford it. Once a few girls had married urban men, the rivalry 369
between village families led to greater efforts to secure town husbands for the [621]
others. Consequently, there has been an inflation in dowries which is alarming
the villagers themselves. In the early 1950's, a *prika* worth $3,000 was enough [458]
for a town husband of no special prestige; by the late 1950's, the same kind of
man was asking for one worth $4,500.

The inflation has had several consequences. Often the value of the dowry
can no longer be limited to the share of the inheritance to which a girl is en-
titled. Farming sons are willing to give up some portion of their shares so that [593]
their sisters can "live well," as they put it. The brothers gain also from the added
prestige and influence of the family. These in turn may make it possible for
them to find a girl with a larger dowry than their property qualifications might
warrant. A farmer so situated may make higher demands on the ground that
his and his wife's children will have an urban aunt and uncle. The town sister [873]
might provide board for her nephews and nieces (girls are increasingly being
sent to gymnasium) while they are in school and can also be expected to help
them find jobs.

Another consequence of the dowry inflation is the increasingly late age of 582
marriage for the village girls and the town men. It takes farmers longer to 583
accumulate the larger amounts of cash for the dowry, and the prospective
grooms longer to attain a position or income at least partially commensurate. 369
Vasilika's girls who marry town men are usually between twenty-five and thirty. 556
Those whose fathers have few land holdings, and consequently can offer only 182
small dowries, have been marrying farmers from other villages or within Va-
silika itself and have been in their early twenties at the time of the engagement.

Now let us consider the disposition of the dowry which goes with a girl 583
marrying a town husband. First, if he accepts land as part of the dowry, he 425
will of necessity have it worked by his wife's male relatives. In time, however,
often by the end of the first decade of the marriage, the son-in-law may wish to 454
expand his shop, or may wish to start building a house for himself or for his 369
daughter's dowry, or may hear of a good investment opportunity. He will want money for these purposes, and so he begins, with his wife's consent and after consultation with her father, to arrange for the sale of dowry lands. Since the 1950's, prospective town grooms have been less willing to take land which they know they will eventually want to sell, and have been asking for cash or for a house in town. Anticipating this situation, several of Vasilika's farmers who have small daughters have begun to use their savings and even to sell a little land in order to build houses in Athens or in a provincial town so that by the time their daughters are ready to marry, the houses will provide the main portion of the dowry.

of the dowry. Rents are high and earnings relatively low in cities so that houses 583
are a good investment. However, since building materials must be bought, and 454
contractors paid, in cash, the houses may take many years to build. The young
couple may then move into the habitable shell, and the rest of the dwelling will 369
be completed out of the farmer's then current income. This kind of dowry-on- 427
the-installment-plan becomes part of the marriage contract. It is often a source 434
not only of continuing long-term discussions between a farmer and his town
son-in-law, but also a source of quarrels—what in Greece are called *fasaries*. 606

The rate of movement of farmers' daughters into the towns and cities 578
has been accelerating in the last decade, but marriages to urban husbands are not 369
a new phenomenon. Between 1930 and 1950, at least five of Vasilika's women 166
married "into Athens."

This type of marriage, like those discussed above in which both bride and 581
groom are members of farm families, accelerates land sales and exchanges. The 425
network of association which develops between Vasilika's residents and their
relatives in Athens and the towns, is, however, perhaps the most important con- 602
sequence of the urban marriages of village women (Friedl 1959a). In addition 574
to the economic reasons for continuing relationships, there are several customary
patterns which increase the frequency of contacts between the two groups. Lonely
village mothers are grateful for visits from their married daughters and their
grandchildren, and the midsummer season not uncommonly finds city women
with their children back in the village visiting their parents, often for as long as
a month or two. A return to one's village for Easter, sometimes for most of the 434
Holy Week as well, is a well-known pattern in Greece. *Paniyiri* in one's *patridha*
(home village) is another occasion for visiting.

Journeys in the opposite direction also occur with some frequency. Village 574
men and women, when ill, may enter hospitals in a town in which they have 602
sons or daughters, or brothers or sisters. Village men visit their town brothers 369
and bring their children; occasionally a child spends a summer with his town
aunt or uncle. Visits to the village or to the town usually last several days. 958
They are made possible by still another congruent pattern of Greek culture.
Neither the villagers nor their town relatives seem to have any strong need for 571
personal privacy. Visiting relatives are bedded down on pallets when there are 513
not enough regular beds, and it is not considered either indecent or especially
uncomfortable for one or even two families to sleep in the same room. It is
through this intervisiting process that so many urban traits of culture are intro-
duced to the villagers and, indeed, that some village patterns are conserved in
urban areas.

An additional consequence of the town marriages of village girls is that 369
rural wealth derived from land flows into the cities. This wealth is an addition 134
to what the productivity of land normally contributes to urban centers in the
form of food, taxes, and the export of rural produce. A portion of the farmer's 583
profits, through the dowry, is being used, it would seem, directly to support a
part of the urban population. When the dowries are invested in housing or in 471
small commercial enterprises, many low-salaried employees, civil service workers,

●369 or economically marginal entrepreneurs find it possible to support themselves
433 and their families in the town and cities. Without the aid of dower wealth, they
583 might not be able to do so.
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Attitudes Toward the Dowry System

583 Let us now turn from the nature and consequences of the dowry system
562 to a renewed examination of the villagers' attitudes toward the dowry. They
594 unquestionably think of the dowry as a burden. Raising daughters is called
vasana, a task full of tribulations. The people of the village know that daughters
are, in the long run, a net economic loss to the family. They strongly
emphasize the burdens of having to give large dowries with daughters, and
they rarely mention the size of the dowries sons will receive with their wives.
When a girl is born to one of the more prosperous villagers, other men say with
[201] a certain suppressed glee, "*Tha plirosi,*" "He will pay," and they rub the fingers
of the right hand against the thumb in a gesture of money payment. But the
men who act this way have no corresponding phrase or gesture for what a son
will bring in, and dowry inflation is always looked at from the standpoint of
what must be paid out. Young prospective bridegrooms tend also to emphasize
their roles as contributors to their sisters' dowries, rather than their roles as recipients
of their bride's property.

In spite of their lamentations over the burdensomeness of the *prika,* the villagers regard it as a fixed feature of their lives. They invariably express puzzlement in conversations with Americans as to how any people can exist without it. Identifying the dowry with the trousseau, women ask how any girl can set up a household without one. They also ask how a dowerless woman can have any sense of economy, security, or support; how she can guard against the dangers of a shiftless husband.

594 The men say Greece is a poor country, and that therefore young couples
583 need a double source of land or capital to assure the economic welfare of the
new family. But at least of equal importance to the men is their feeling that
[593] their own self-respect depends upon the knowledge that they have provided for
the future of their daughters—that they have enabled their daughters to "live
594 well." When asked whether girls who did wage labor or who earned money from
dressmaking used their earnings for their dowries, the villagers, men and women
434 alike, looked shocked and displeased. They would say no, only fathers or
583 brothers give dowries. Then they would explain that the girl gives her earnings
to her father who uses it for the family's living expenses and may, if he wishes,
511 return some to help in the collection of the trousseau, which, as we have seen,
the men consider an insignificant part of the dowry. That the girls' earnings enabled
the family to save other current income was a concept the villagers neither
had a priori, nor understood when it was suggested to them. Neither did the
villagers like the suggestion that by working in the fields the daughter of a
farmer was contributing to the family's income and, therefore, indirectly to the
000 savings accumulated for her dowry. As we have seen, in the context of farm

601 There is a reciprocal term equivalent in meaning, but not at all as technical in its connotation as the English word "spouse," whereby husbands and wives refer to each other: *sizigbos*. Apart from this, there are no Greek words with the specific and exclusive significance of English "husband" and "wife." For husband, *andras* (man) is used; for wife, *yineka* (woman) or *kira* (lady).

601 The remaining terms in the Greek system that are related to marriage are
608 those which refer reciprocally to a couple's marriage sponsor and the latter's
585 spouse: *kumbaros* and *kumbara*. Moreover, the terms are extended on both sides to refer to the parents, brothers and sisters, and children of the original sponsors and their spouses when they marry.

Marriage sponsors may, but need not be chosen (and in the majority of instances in Vasilika are not chosen) from among one's biological kin. The term
[582] *kumbaros* is, however, properly considered part of the system of kinship terms because of a very weighty customary prohibition which the status of *kumbaros* imposes: the prohibition against marriage in the same degrees as those appropriate to blood relatives.

601 The same reciprocal terms, *kumbaros* and *kumbara*, with the same extensions
608 to the kindred of each of the original parties and the same marriage prohibitions,
851 are established between the parents of a child and his baptismal godparent (*nonos* or *nona*). Here again, parents may choose those with whom they wish to enter into this relationship, and individuals may or may not accept the request to sponsor a godchild (*vaftistikos* or *vaftistikya*).

602 Vasilika's inhabitants make use of the possibilities of the *kumbari* system
608 in such a way as to parallel their search for affinal kin (in-laws). Just as the people of Vasilika select marriage partners for themselves and their children
557 with an eye to the augmentation of material resources and social prestige, so they
[581] try to find *kumbari* whose wealth and position will be a source of potential help for themselves and their children. The similarity in functions of the two types
[582] of relationships is paralleled by their similarity in structural effects. Just as affinal connections preclude the possibility of marriage between any of the relatives of
[612] the two elementary families involved, so do *kumbari* connections. Moreover, since the people of the village apparently prefer to select *kumbari* from non-kin (they must do so with affinals), they succeed in augmenting their network of associations with what, from the standpoint of kin connections, is a random collection
[369] of elementary families and their bilateral kindred. Non-kin are more likely to be in other villages, and people of greater prestige in the towns and cities. Here again *kumbari* associations tend to lead out of the village, and there is frequently a disparity in the economic and social positions between villagers and their *kumbari*. On the one hand, some prosperous village farmers serve as godparents for shepherd families, and on the other, the aspiring farming families choose an urban merchant, or a professional man, as *kumbaros*. The parallel with relatives by marriage is most striking between *kumbari* through godparenthood, and the mutual obligations involved are larger in number, last longer, and are more likely to be fulfilled than those with marriage sponsors.

602 Still another parallel between in-laws and *kumbari* is that the individuals
608 who fill these statuses are freely chosen, in contrast with consanguineal (blood)
612

relatives who are, of course, automatically acquired by birth. Certainly this is a real distinction between the affinals and *kumbari,* on the one hand, and consanguineals on the other, but, in Vasilika at least, it is not a difference of preponderant functional importance. In practice, any significant relationships established even between consanguineal kin outside of the elementary family are voluntarily arranged, and this element of the situation is more important than is the fact that the pool of blood kin from whom a man or woman can make the choice is predetermined.

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Let us summarize the situation this way: A man and his elementary family can normally provide all the personnel needed for the year-round functions on his farm. At peak periods the farmer hires the necessary additional labor. However, from time to time he may need temporary help. He may need an extra horse for plowing, or he may want to join with someone to fill a truck with grain for a trip to the mill or with cotton for a trip to the gin; or he may need an extra hand or two to string tobacco or to separate cotton from the pod, or he may want someone to help with irrigation, or he may wish to join with another family for the Easter feast. For both giving and receiving assistance of this kind, Vasilika's farmers seem to consider all the village's inhabitants, kin or non-kin, *kumbari* or non-*kumbari,* neighbor or non-neighbor, as almost equally suitable candidates. A farmer may choose one non-neighbor villager who has a good horse, and exchange plowing assistance with him, a next-door neighbor with whom he joins in sending grain to the mill, a village sister to help with tobacco stringing to whom he gives a bottle of wine or the like in return, and so on. Moreover, none of these arrangements is necessarily permanent; the personnel may vary from year to year and from season to season. Indeed, shifting relationships of this kind are more common than permanent ones. From our point of view, the significance lies in the fact that whether or not kin are involved, the type of association is the same.

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There is one notable exception. No matter how valuable assistance might be, it is not sought after if the individuals capable of rendering it belong to a family with whom there is an acute, even if temporary, disagreement. For example, although one of the village girls was adept at giving penicillin injections, a woman from a family which was on bad terms with that of the girl preferred to leave the village for a week to live with a town relative who was also capable of giving the injections. The trip was inconvenient for the ill woman's family, and since she was not fond of her relative, the visit was actually distasteful to her. But neither of these considerations was compelling enough to have her choose what in her and her family's opinion was the worse alternative—to ask assistance from a village family with whom they were currently in acrimonious rivalry. Feuding of this kind can occur among kin as well as among neighbors.

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Apart from the agricultural production cycle and other predominantly village-centered activities, Vasilika's farmers need help in arranging marriages, in educating their children, in finding employment, in dealing with government officials and with merchants to whom they sell their produce. They also want some urban associations simply for prestige, and to provide a place to stay if they visit towns and cities. For these extra-village purposes, a farmer is more likely

476 364 602 608 [574] [557]

476 first to survey his consanguineal kin, his affinals, and his *kumbari*. From among
369 these, he may choose one of his first cousins with whom his son will board
while he goes to the gymnasium, one of his sons-in-law who is a civil servant
602 to help with tax problems, one of his *kumbari* to recommend a merchant, and
608 so on. Again, the farmer chooses different individuals from among those po-
557 tentially helpful to him by virtue of their statuses and need not ask any one
person to help him in more than one way. Once more the relationships need not
be permanent; if for any reason they prove unsatisfactory, a man shifts to an-
[illegible] other individual. Moreover, the farmer reciprocates these favors in various ways,
for example, by taking his cousin's child for the summer, by offering hospitality to *kumbari* at festival times, or by getting information about village girls from among whom his urban connection may want to arrange a marriage. If a farmer can find no one among his group of consanguineal kin, his affinals, and his *kumbari* who is willing to enter into an agreement with him for these extra-village needs, he turns to his fellow villagers and neighbors and attempts to attach himself to their network of extra-village associations.

[609] What Vasilika's farmers do not do is attempt to establish new and direct relationships with complete strangers, that is, persons or agencies outside the network of their own or their fellow villagers' extra-village associations.

571 In sum, then, outside of the elementary family, a Vasilika farmer expects
602 to establish voluntary relationships with a number of different individuals from
each of whom he expects the fulfillment of a limited set of obligations to him-
608 self, and toward each of whom he will fulfill an equivalent but usually not identical set of obligations. Each man is the center of a series of varied relationships in which those with whom he associates himself have no necessary connections with each other. He is the hub of a wheel that has no rim.

George Foster has called paired relationships of this kind "dyadic contracts" (Foster, 1961). He believes they will occur in societies in which the number of people to whom a man can have culturally defined obligations is so large that it is not possible for him to fulfill them all. Men and women, therefore, choose from among their many kin, godparents and the like, those with whom they will make dyadic contracts. The people and the situation in which the contract is enforced vary from time to time. Foster suggests that such sets of paired relationships deter the development of factional groups. The idea of the dyadic contract is an extraordinarily useful concept for understanding the relationships I have just described for Vasilika, and Foster's analysis illuminates the consequences of what I have just called a situation in which each man or woman is the hub of a rimless wheel.

In the next chapter, the quality of the human relations characteristic of the elementary family and of the other types of associations of the villagers will be discussed.

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judgment, not through formal academic education, but by a natural flowering of 828 common sense based on ordinary experience. Small children who get too near the fire or run too long in the sun are not scolded for disobedience but are excused 867 on the grounds that they do not yet know any better. *"Dben gzeri,"* they say, [858] "He doesn't know." As children grow older, however, the same misbehavior is treated as a sign of unintelligence and accusations of stupidity may be flung at the child. *"Dben echis myalo?,"* "Don't you have a brain?" they say.

The quality of shame which the villagers want to emphasize in their children is an inner sense of embarrassment at the thought of improperly revealing oneself—either the physical self (modesty) or the inner emotional self. The words for shame, which cluster about the term *endropi,* are used in at least three different contexts. When children refuse to talk to strangers, and smaller ones [609] literally hide behind a parent, the elders say as an excuse, *"Drepete,"* "He is bashful." For young children to feel embarrassment at revealing themselves to strangers is proper in the villagers' view. As children grow older, girls are expected to be more modest than boys and shyness remains an excuse for females [834] after it ceases to be one for males. The older women of the village, for example, [562] find it difficult to join the men and visitors at a feast table; they prefer to eat in [574] another room. They go into the *saloni* after their guests have finished eating and sit without speaking near the walls of the room. [369] Villagers know that urban women do not have such reticences and they feel it necessary to make some excuse for their wives. *"Dreponde,"* they say, "They are ashamed," and although modesty as applied to a refusal to eat with one's guests is no longer fashionable, neither is it considered a disgrace to the husband or children.

A second use of the word for shame occurs when children show lack of self-control at stages in their development when it is already expected of them. *"Min drepese?"* "Aren't you ashamed?" is often a reaction of elders to a child who is less cleanly or orderly by village standards than he should be. [865] Excessive running or shouting, physical fights with other children, loud and prolonged vituperation, enjoyment of food which borders on gluttony—these are the kinds of actions greeted with the suggestion that the child is exhibiting to the world too much of his inner needs. It is not the existence of the need that is considered bad, but rather the inability to control its expression. If he cannot exercise sufficient control, the child is not utilizing his sense of shame as is proper; he is making an unseemly exhibition of himself.

Although shame is considered an internal individual emotion, the process by which the villagers reveal his sense of shame to a child includes exaggerating and parading before others any evidence of possible shamelessness. That is, children [861] are not merely asked *"Min drepese?"* but the action they should not have engaged in is often made much of and enlarged so that whatever inner discomfort is inculcated is reinforced by invoking the ridicule of outsiders. On one of our returns to the village for a brief stay, I visited one of my friends and casually asked where her five-year-old daughter was. Her mother answered that the child was probably hiding because she had been scolded for getting mud splattered on her dress. Some time later, as I was leaving, the mother caught sight of the little girl trying to hide herself on a narrow window ledge as she peeked out to catch

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the community. The secretary tends to remain in office for many years, thereby [647]
becoming the equivalent of a permanent civil servant.

The president is held responsible for the completion of the tasks assigned 65
to him and to his council. These include registration of births and deaths, a census [622]
of males every five years, the physical maintenance of the roads and public wells [623]
in the village, the preparation of the community tax rolls, and the preparation of
an annual village budget. [217]

In a community the size of Vasilika the maintenance of vital statistics is
not an onerous task, since births, deaths, and the age and sex distribution of the
population are matters of common knowledge. The maintenance of village prop- 653
erty is a more complicated matter. Funds for materials are available in the vil-
lage's account, which is held by the treasury at Amphiklia. The community may [634]
not draw on its account without the approval of the nomarch. Therefore, any
public works program in the village is first formulated by the council and then [652]
sent for final approval to the nomarch's office. Village males who are more than
fifteen years old are responsible for providing labor for road building and for [651]
minor repairs of village property. They may either give a certain number of [491]
days a year to work on such public projects or fulfill the obligation by furnishing
money for a substitute. There is no effective practical way of enforcing adherence
to the commitment. The state of the village roads and wells depends, therefore,
on whether the village men are willing to work together to create a village asset.

In the course of our 1955–1956 stay at Vasilika a special impetus for road 653
repairs presented itself. The council had requested that one bus a day traveling 491
between Kifisokhori and Levadhia be rerouted so as to pass through the village.
The nomarch had indicated that he would approve the change if the village road [494]
was repaired, and he authorized the necessary materials. One day in March, [634]
truckloads of earth were brought into the village and about one quarter of the
adult male population shoveled the loose earth into the main ruts on the village
road. The road was superficially improved thereby, and a month or so later a
bus was routed through the village. The poor drainage from one of the wells
was not corrected, however, so that the regular spillage from the well quickly
restored the old puddles in the road.

The men and boys who worked on the road project lacked their customary [461]
vigor. Indeed, the majority of the male population of the village claimed to have
work to do in the fields that day and did not join in the road work at all. There
was much joking, teasing, and clowning while the work was going on, and the
efforts of two of the older men to convince the group to set to work with a will
were unavailing. The attitude of the road workers requires explanation because
all the villagers were agreed on the importance of the new bus route and they
actively dislike mud. The muddiness of the village road in winter and early spring
was a particular subject for comment and several times evoked the question, "Do
you have mud in America, too?" An Athenian who visited the village in late [369]
spring was critical of the villagers because their *aghora* was unpaved. "Don't you
have a lot of mud all winter?" she asked. "Oh no, we don't have any mud in
winter. Very little," was the response from one of the villagers. He would not
even admit to so unsightly a condition.

The Role of Kinship in the Transmission of National Culture to Rural Villages in Mainland Greece[1]

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FOR some time anthropologists have been trying to refine their understandings of the relationships of peasant communities to the nations of which they are a part. Pioneer acculturation studies in Latin America pointed up the significantly different possibilities in this regard between physically isolated communities and those with access to roads and bus service and the like. The stress here was on analysis of the selectivity with which rural populations took over and adapted culture traits encountered in the cities (Redfield 1930:218–223; Beals 1951:5).

In a recent article Eric Wolf emphasizes the contrast between economically isolated rural communities producing primarily for subsistence and those which, because they produce cash crops, must maintain credit and market connections outside the local communities. Wolf stresses the cultural and social ramifications in the local community which he believes develop from the degree of its economic dependence on the town and its representatives (Wolf 1955:461–466). In a later article, Wolf describes as "a web of group relations" the actual mechanism by which peasant communities are connected to the towns (Wolf 1956:1066). In Wolf's discussion, the groups participating include not only the peasant and his economic mediator or "broker," as Wolf calls him, but also the political functionaries who act as intermediaries between the rural community and the national controls centered in the cities.

Redfield, in his most recent summary and analysis of the literature on peasant communities, characterizes these communities as societies ". . . in which there are long-established relations with an elite whose culture is that of the peasant carried to another level of development" (Redfield 1956:60). This elite he conceptualizes with a cultural rather than a structural emphasis. He defines it not primarily in terms of its economic and political power, but rather as the group of educated people who interpret to the villagers both urban customs and the great national literary and artistic traditions, and who also manage those affairs of peasants which are connected with the national institutions (Redfield 1956:60–65, 101–102). Both Wolf and Redfield make the point that the mediating groups need not be outsiders in the physical sense. Wolf notes that economically successful peasants who remain in the local community have become "brokers" (Wolf 1956:1075). Redfield mentions the "intelligentsia" who may live in the villages although they consider themselves among the urban educated classes (Redfield 1956:61–62). He also mentions that the elite may be relatives of the peasants (Redfield 1956:134). Wolf, by contrast, in his description of the characteristics of open peasant communities, suggests that the accumulation of wealth and the necessity for display which presumably

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lead to a peasant's becoming a "broker" tend to produce a conflict with his 369
kinship obligations (Wolf 1955:57).

The better part of a year's field study in a small Greek village has made 114
clear to me the great usefulness of Redfield's and Wolf's conceptions. However,
I shall try to show that in Greece the role of kinship ties as a mechanism for 369
maintaining urban-rural connections is extensive and permeating. Nor does a 602
change in social status from poorer to wealthier Greek peasant, or to any other
more prestige-giving position, result in a rupture of kinship ties and obligations.

It is therefore the purpose of this paper to point up the peculiar significance of kinship in "the web of group relations" between town and country in Greece, and to show the process by which, in this region at least, it comes about that the elite are likely to be one's own relatives.

To begin with, considerable social mobility exists in Greece (Antonakaki 369
1955:108-111), but this mobility does not come at the expense of kinship ties.
The family remains a strongly functioning unit in spite of the fact that its 602
members may occupy different social positions and may live in many different 554
communities—in villages, towns, and cities (McNeill 1957:16-17). Therefore,
it is often the upwardly mobile members of his own family who link the villager [571]
to the national culture and the national social structure of Greece. As a result, not only are cultural and social changes expected in the village, but continuing urban influence is an integral part of village life. The mediators, the "brokers," in Greece can be understood best not only as individuals who are part of a distinct social class in specific economic and political relationship to the rural peasantry, but also—and perhaps more importantly—as links in a chain of relations within a family whose members may be distributed through the various levels of Greek social structure. Such a chain of relations has further ramifications. The network of associations established by the villager's kin in the towns and cities helps to increase the possibility that his business even with non-kin
mediators will be conducted on a personal basis. Greeks find particularly abhorrent any relationship which is totally impersonal and functionally specific. [571]
The tax collector who comes to the village from an office in a provincial town may not be your son, but he may work in the same office with your son. And if he does not, he may work with the son of another family in your village. From the Greek point of view, a connection through one's own kin is best, but failing that, a connection through a relative of another village family is decidedly better than no connection at all.

Let us see how this system operates as a medium of cultural transmission. 369
The village of Vasilika in Boeotia, on the mainland of Greece, has many char-
acteristics of Wolf's open peasant community. The vast preponderance of the 554
crops grown is sold for cash; the farmers, as I prefer to call them, depend upon 433
credit to finance not only the crop but also the purchase of diesel-powered irrigation pumps, tractors, chemical fertilizers, and the like. There is considerable wealth display and rivalry for social position among the village families,
which is another of Wolf's criteria. However, Vasilika is an open community in 000

●369 However Vasilika is an open community in
still another sense. Both men and women born and raised in the village have
463 left it for other communities, and for occupations other than farming. Educa-
871 tion beyond the six years of compulsory schooling in the village is essential for
any civil service or clerical job, and of course for any of the professions. The
[873] gymnasiums or high school-junior colleges are in the towns. The farmer who
wants his son to have higher education must send him out of the village at the
[166] age of twelve with the hope that he will continue in the gymnasium for six
years. Upon graduation, and after a series of examinations, a successful son
may become a government employee in the tax office in Amphiklia, a post-office
employee or a policeman in Athens, perhaps a teacher in a village school, or an
employee in a bank. A village-bred boy sometimes returns to his own or a
neighboring village as a physician. Nor is formal education the only way for a
[874] farm boy to change his occupation. In some families, sons are apprenticed to
barbers or tailors, and may eventually set up shop for themselves. In recent
[702] years, young men have been drafted at the age of 21 for two years of service in
the armed forces of Greece. The services not only give a young man experience
[554] of other parts of Greece, but may teach him a trade as well. This situation undoubtedly provides increased opportunities for social mobility, but it is too
early for its possible permanent effects to be assessed.

594 Education or training beyond the village school (except for that provided
871 by the armed forces) is expensive by Greek standards. Although the tuition
charge is slight, if any, at the gymnasium, a boy must be supported in the
[873] town, and if there is no relative with whom he can live, this means a cash outlay. In spite of this fact, it is by no means only the sons of the more affluent
farmers who are educated. As a matter of fact, if a farmer has sufficient land
resources both to provide his daughters with adequate dowries and one of his
sons with a good farm, he will keep one boy on the land. But all the sons of
land-poor families may be sent for further education or training regardless of
the sacrifices involved.

369 Upward and outward mobility is possible for girls through the dowry system and the prevailing marriage customs. Village exogamy is most usual, and a
554 woman goes to live in her husband's village. Marriage without a dowry is al-
58 most impossible in Greece, and the value of the dowry determines the future
social position of a girl and, to some extent, that of her family. The larger the
dowry a man can provide, the more likely it is that he will acquire a town or
city son-in-law engaged in a nonfarming occupation. There are other avenues
[871] of mobility for girls. A small proportion go to the gymnasium, and then either
train to become teachers, or are considered more valuable simply because they
have been educated, and can get a good husband without quite so large a
dowry. Another small group goes to the provincial town or to Athens to be
[463] trained as dressmakers or beauty operators, and may return to the villages to
engage in these occupations.[3] Such skills are considered real assets, and may
369 again improve the girl's chance of a good marriage. It would not be unusual,
therefore, for a farmer of Vasilika to run the farm with the help of one of
602 his sons, to have another son in Athens as a civil servant or a [illegible]

have one daughter married to a tailor in a nearby town, and perhaps another 369
daughter married to a farmer in another village. His own younger brother and 602
one or two of his wife's brothers may be Athenians in white-collar occupations
or in one of the professions.

I do not suggest that such a distribution of kin is in itself necessarily significant 369
for understanding urban-rural relations. If the village children who had
achieved higher social status in the towns and cities felt that the maintenance 602
of their new status demanded a repudiation of their village-bound relatives, 554
they might sever all connections with the villages as quickly as possible. Or,
if the demands made upon upwardly mobile members of the family by those
still in the villages were too great, it might also be necessary for village connections
to be broken. If these conditions existed, the main line of connection
between the villages and the national institutions, and thereby with urban influences,
would have to be restricted to contacts with a separate cultural elite
(priests, teachers) or with functionally specific economic and political mediators.

This is emphatically not the case in Greece. A farmer and his wife, his adult 571
sons and daughters, and, through the dowry system, his sons-in-law, all have
some rights over the farmer's real property. In addition, each member of this 602
group is entitled to benefit from whatever influence or good-will any one or 369
more of the members may have acquired in the village or in the towns. All important
decisions concerning any member of this group or any of their children 593
are therefore made jointly and after considerable face-to-face discussion. [425]
Dowry arrangements, sales and exchanges of land, house-building, the education
of the children, possible sources of employment in the towns: these and
similar matters are settled only through long group conferences.

These conferences are made possible by four mutually reinforcing patterns
of Greek culture, in spite of the geographical scatter of the individuals concerned.
First, Greeks expect that major decisions will not be arrived at in a
hurry, but may—and frequently do—take as much as a year or two of discussion.
Second, Greeks consider visiting between country and city kin a highly [574]
favored form of recreation for both parties. Third, Greeks do not expect and do
not value personal privacy. And fourth, the attitudes of the upwardly mobile
urban kin and of the remaining rural kin to each other are conducive to continuing
interaction.

The first of these patterns, the habit of long-continued discussion of a problem, 571
is a recognized pattern that goes back to the *Iliad*. The span of time over 583
which discussions continue is augmented by the fact that even when a decision 425
is arrived at, it is not considered final and irrevocable. For example, a dowry 593
contract may call for the transfer of a parcel of land from the bride's father to
the bride herself. Two years later, however, the girl's husband may decide that
he would prefer his wife to have the money value of the land which would then
enable her to buy some town real estate from which the new family could derive
more income. This is considered a proper subject for discussion by the
bride's father and his brothers as well as by the groom. It might result in the

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583 sale of what is still considered family land—a project which is never undertaken
425 lightly. In a sense, therefore, a case of this kind represents a situation in
which the dowry contract is renegotiated two years after the marriage.

The pattern of visiting in Greece has certain regularities. The town-dwellers
574 are apt to go back to their home villages or to those of their wives at least
● 369 twice a year, at Easter and at the patron saint's day celebration of the village.
602 They also go back frequently for baptisms, weddings, and funerals, and sometimes
for the celebration of the name-day of a brother or a father. A man and
593 his family often spend a summer vacation in his village or his wife's. "He has
gone back to his village" is a remark made frequently about a vacationing
Athenian, and it is regarded as self-explanatory. Townswomen sometimes
come to visit the village, bringing their young children with them. This is
especially common during the busy agricultural seasons when the grandmother
can act as baby-sitter and the young mother can once again help in the fields.
In the reverse direction, young unmarried nieces and nephews may spend extended
periods visiting their urban aunts and uncles. A village farmer often
takes a young son to visit a city relative. A village girl may spend several
[874] months, or even years, with a town relative, while she learns to sew or to work
as a hairdresser. A town godparent may invite a village godchild to stay at his
home for a month or two. Village mothers occasionally go on short visits to
their town daughters, although this last is considerably rarer than visiting in
the other direction.

369 All these visits include at least overnight stays, and may last for weeks or
574 longer. They are made possible partly by improved road systems and bus and
513 train services, which, in a country as small as Greece, permit travel at reasonable
cost. More important, however, is the Greek lack of interest in privacy.
[571] In fact, the notion of privacy cannot be expressed by any Greek word in common
use. This lack of concern is reflected in the sleeping arrangements which
prevail both in the villages and among the less sophisticated in the towns, including
[593] Athens. It is taken for granted that parents and grown children of
both sexes may sleep in the same room, and that, if there are not enough beds
—and there rarely are—pallets strewn on the floor provide a perfectly adequate
substitute. A Greek household is disgraced if there are insufficient pallets
and bed-linen available to sleep at least a half-dozen extra people. The entertainment
of one's kin is therefore not limited by the number of rooms in a house
or apartment, nor by the fact that a household may be too poor to have a large
number of bedsteads. Moreover, crowded sleeping arrangements are not considered
a hardship by either the urban relative visiting the village or by the
villager visiting the city or town.

369 Continuing relations between urban and country kin are also facilitated by
602 the fact that, in Boeotia, minimum literacy at the least is almost universal
[574] among the male villagers, so that arrangements for visits may be made by
[212] correspondence. They are also made by word of mouth, since traveling villagers
[203] are willing to carry messages.

[554] Finally, the kinship element in urban-rural relations tends to lessen the

ambivalence that is usually found in mobile societies between participants in 369 ●
different levels of culture and occupants of different prestige and power levels 602
in the social structure. I do not suggest a relationship entirely free of suspicion 554
or jealousy, but there is considerable evidence that the villagers take substantial
pride in the very fact that their urban kin have a social position of
greater prestige. The latter often view their country relatives with no more
than a mildly paternal condescension. Charges of urban snobbishness on the [186]
one hand, and of peasant crudeness on the other, are usually reserved for
those outside the circle of one's own kin.

The line of urban cultural influence, then, runs something like this: New
ideas and attitudes, and changes in style of life, are brought to the notice of a
village family by its urban relatives. However, if a village household adopts at
least some of the new traits, it is only partly because of the respect which it
pays to its urban kin. A more powerful influence is often the strong sense of [578]
competition which the rural household feels toward other village families, on
which it hopes to score a point by showing superior sophistication. Those [621]
village families which have no urban relatives gradually try to copy the behavior
of those which do. Some degree of urban influence stemming from urban
relatives of villagers therefore penetrates the entire village community.

Such competition for prestige often encourages spending beyond the boundaries 369
of economic wisdom, quite on the "keeping up with the Joneses" pattern. 511
So the resources of the villagers may be used for elegant urban-style clothes
which are attractive at Easter but are soon afterwards worn for ordinary work. [291]
A lightweight wool dress, for example, is unwearable in a few months after
having been washed several times in hot water and pounded with a paddle to [296]
release the soil and other dirt which clings to it. The same sort of thing holds
for men's shoes. They are standard city shoes which are worn for heavy farm
work throughout the year with no boots or other protection from the weather.
However, it is also significant that the imitation of urban styles accounts for
other kinds of innovations. For example, it has become fashionable to build [514]
new-style privies which are an improvement on the sanitary facilities in the
village. The new type has a concrete floor which slopes down toward a center
hole, or has a specially made ceramic fixture incorporating the slope and center
hole, instead of movable wooden floor boards arranged to leave a space in the
center—or, of course, no privy at all. There is also a new fashion in the building [343]
in which such facilities are housed. If possible, it will now be constructed of
brick rather than of wattle and daub or of reed. To give another instance, the [758]
imitation of urban styles has also undoubtedly contributed to the increasing
willingness of the villagers to be hospitalized for serious illness (Friedl 1958).

The description of continuous face-to-face contact with village relatives 369
given in this paper holds well for at least the generation that has itself left the 574
village, and for its children. The grandchildren of those who left the village for
the towns will, when they become adult, make fewer visits back to the village, 602
and the ties of association between country and city relatives gradually loosen 554
with the passage of time. But, since social mobility is a continuing phenomenon

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in Greece, the stream of cultural transmission between urban and rural Greece via kinship groups is constantly renewed.

The maintenance of urban-rural contacts and thereby the spread of a national culture and its institutions through upwardly mobile kin is not a uniquely Greek phenomenon. Almost the same pattern is mentioned for French Canada in the late 1930's (Miner 1939:83, 239–241), and is indicated in Garigue's more recent study of kinship awareness and relationships from the standpoint of French-Canadians living in Montreal (Garigue 1956:1092–1097). It is at least hinted at for a part of Belgium (Turney-High 1953:196, 205). The migration of farmers' children to urban centers with an accompanying shift in occupation or in social position or both, and the continuation of family ties are described in greater detail for the Irish countryside of the 1930's (Arensberg and Kimball 1940:146–152). Since Arensberg and Kimball were not specifically interested in the cultural effects of migration on the farming population remaining at home, they do not present data which would make it possible to determine whether the situation is completely parallel to that of Greece in this respect. Some elements in Garigue and Firth's analysis of awareness of kinship connections among Londoners of Italian provenience also suggest parallels with the Greek situation, but there is some discordant evidence as well (Garigue and Firth 1956:70, 79–81).

However, the type of family structure and functioning which I have described for Greece conforms in many ways to LePlay's idea of the *famille-souche* or stem family which he presents as common in 19th century Europe (Zimmermann and Frampton 1935:122–127). Chinese patterns of mobility and urban-rural relations also exhibit remarkable parallels with Greece (e.g., Lin 1947:passim). For Mexico, in the context of a discussion of urbanization without breakdown, Oscar Lewis describes a pattern of visiting between Tepoztecans who have moved to Mexico City and their relatives in Tepozatlan which has much in common with the picture I have presented for Greece, and which has had similar cultural consequences (Lewis 1952:39–40).

On the other hand, if the Greek pattern is not unique, neither is it universal. Upward social movement for sons of farmers is relatively infrequent in many societies. It is not recorded for the Dutch village described by the Keurs (1955:96–100) or for an English village described by Williams (1956:34–54). Barnes (1954:44), in his discussion of a Norwegian island parish, says specifically that here " . . . kinsmen, by and large, are approximate social equals." Nor does upward social movement for farmers' sons appear significant in French communities (Bernot and Blancard 1953; Wylie 1957; Bottomore 1954:150; Lipset and Rogoff 1954:563). Where upward social movement from farm to town does exist, the Greek pattern of continued strong kinship ties is not necessarily duplicated. Indeed, for the Polish peasant, Thomas and Znaniecki state specifically that as soon as peasants pass into the middle or lower middle class they effect a complete break with the family group back in the village (Thomas and Znaniecki 1918: Vol. I, 98–99). As we have seen, Wolf, in

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contrast to Lewis, has noted the challenge to family ties which upward mobil- 369
ity creates in the wider Mexican scene as he describes it.

I therefore suggest that peasant communities differ both with respect to 602
whether they exist as part of a nation in which social mobility for peasants is 554
characteristic, and also with respect to whether kin ties are maintained in [121
spite of mobility. If my analysis of the Greek material is valid, the determination of whether one or both of these conditions exist may well be an essential part of the study of peasant communities, and should also be included in the criteria for peasant typologies. Since peasant societies are by definition part societies, the question of whether kinship is a mechanism by which peasant communities maintain connections with the nations of which they are a part would seem to be a query which is not only strategic but one which anthropologists are especially qualified to explore. The implications of such studies for a clearer understanding of the structure and functions of kinship in urban communities as well as in rural villages are already apparent from the results of the work recently done in this field (Firth 1956; Garigue 1956).

NOTES

[1] This is a revised version of a paper prepared for a symposium on European peasant cultures held at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association at Chicago in December, 1957. 114

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[2] Renée Kahane of the University of Illinos, in a private communication, points out that Greek women not infrequently become nurses or dentists. Village girls, she adds, may also become domestic servants in the towns or in Athens. These particular alternatives were not reflected in the genealogies or other data we collected in Vasilika, Boeotia. 463

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IV

THE ORGANIC BODY 000

Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children.

THERE is an old story, still to be heard in the mountain villages, which 773
tells how God fashioned the dry land; how He put all the earth through
the mesh of His sieve: here a pile of fine rich soil, the granary of
Africa, and there another which was Sicily. When all was done there
remained within the sieve a heap of stones and dross: God threw them
over His shoulder, and there was Greece. *Tout ce païs*, remarks an old
traveller, *est plein de hautes montagnes.*

It is important to bear in mind the physical characteristics of the 133
setting within which the Greek Church carries out her work of re-
conciliation and renewal. Greece is a land of high mountains and narrow 361
coastal plains; of few towns and wretched communications. The
majority of her people live, as they have lived from time immemorial,
in small rural communities widely dispersed among the mountains,
winning a laborious subsistence from the parched and stony soil
which scarcely covers her rocky skeleton. More than half of the whole
area of Greece is utterly barren; much of what remains consists of [311]
forest and poor pasture; less than one-fifth is under cultivation. Greece
and poverty, the saying runs, have ever been sisters.

At the time of the last census approximately one-seventh of the total 162
population of Greece dwelt in the Athens-Piraeus region, the pheno- 369
menal growth of which during the last 100 years has set it strangely
apart from the rest of the country—even though "the equipages of
Athens", as the Abbé de St. Michon observed, "have not quite the
freshness nor the elegance of those seen in the Champs Elysées".
Salonica had a population which was approaching 300,000; the next
largest town, however, was Patras with less than 80,000 inhabitants.
Most of the remaining towns, a large proportion of which are situated
in the fertile plains of Macedonia and Thrace, are market towns and
centres of rural industries but little more.

THE WATERS OF MARAH

● 369 Thus, despite a certain drift from the villages to the towns during the last few years, the average Greek is still a countryman. Even the Athenian, if one delves into his personal history, is generally found to have his roots in some mountain village of the Peloponnese or in one
795 of the islands. The generality of the Greek bishops are charged with the pastoral care of a flock dispersed in village communities among the
793 mountains; a single market town or *comopolis* forming the centre of the ecclesiastical as of the civil administration.

The Church of Greece, from the point of view of outward organisation, consists of sixty-seven dioceses: thirty-four belonging to Old Greece and the remainder to the territories annexed to the Greek kingdom after the Balkan wars of 1912-13 and the first world war. These latter dioceses, though formally subject to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, are at present placed under that of the Holy Synod of the Hierarchy, which is presided over by the Archbishop of Athens and of all Greece. This body, which is made up of the metropolitans of the sixty-seven dioceses, assembles every three years and may be summoned on other occasions if need arise. Extraordinary business apart, however, the affairs of the Church are administered by the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece, which is composed of twelve bishops under the presidency of the Archbishop. All the bishops are called in turn to serve on this body, and during the greater part of their year as *synodikoi* (which normally recurs about once every five years), they reside in Athens, going home to their dioceses only during the heat of the summer and for the great festivals.

795 In Greece the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church has not been replaced by 'the Churches'. According to the figures of the 1940 census,
162 out of a total population of 7,344,860 persons, no less than 7,090,192 were Orthodox, while the non-Orthodox Christians amounted to a bare 51,851. This small minority consists of Roman Catholics and a few
[797] so-called 'evangelicals' who came to Greece in the early 'twenties from Asia Minor and owe their origin to the proselytising zeal of American missionaries. All of them are confined to the islands and to a few towns on the mainland: in the country districts a Dissenter would be a curiosity indeed.

[793] The Greek diocese is, by English standards, very small and sparsely populated; in some respects more akin to a rural deanery than to our overgrown dioceses. Its average population—if we leave on one side the

788 west—been reduced to a mere shadow of its former self. Is not the Greek
796 Christian for all practical purposes a mere passive onlooker at a gorgeous spectacle performed by the resplendent ministers: even though the sacred participants in the divine drama sometimes descend from their apron stage and mingle with the audience?

It must be admitted that the average Greek layman communicates very rarely, often only once or twice a year; outside the immediate sphere of influence of the movements, hardly ever more than four times. This reluctance of the laity to communicate frequently is a phenomenon which has been common to east and west from a very early period—though in the west (among Orthodox of the diaspora as well as amongst western Christians) there has been a widespread return to something more nearly approaching primitive practice. Its causes are complex and, to a great extent, a matter for speculation. One factor which is peculiar to the east is the place which the *antidoron* has come to occupy. It would be an over-simplification to say that the blessed bread which the Greek Christian is accustomed to receive at the end of every liturgy is consciously looked upon as a substitute for the holy communion; nevertheless, the *antidoron* has a deep significance for the Greek layman—more, perhaps, than in other parts of the Orthodox world.

The reluctance to communicate frequently does not, as we can see from the history of certain movements within western Christendom, necessarily spring from carelessness and sloth; often it is due to a sense of unworthiness which is none the less real though it be considered misguided. Even in reforming circles in Greece to-day one discovers great wariness on the part of the clergy in recommending frequent, let alone daily, communion to their people. This is not, it is held, a matter
[783] to be undertaken lightly, or without the advice and approval of an experienced confessor; and few priests will permit their penitents to communicate as often as once a month unless they are satisfied that the desire goes hand in hand with a real determination to follow Christ in their daily life. To communicate every Sunday is regarded as an inestimable privilege, but one which is hardly for all men.

[782] Then we must not ignore the part played by the ordinary Christian
[769] in the offertory. In the country districts of Greece the housewife who bakes her bread on Saturday will set aside one loaf upon which she has
● [369] stamped with a wooden seal a traditional design wherein the words "Jesus Christ conquers"—abbreviated to I(HCOY)C . X(PICTO)C . NI . KA—constitute the most prominent feature. Early on Sunday

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

morning she will set out for the parish church with her loaf, and arriving 788
whilst the singers are still chanting the morning psalms, and taking 796
it to the door of the chapel where the elements are prepared, she will 782
hand it to the priest together with a vessel of wine, the family diptychs
—or lists of relatives and friends, both living and departed, to be [769]
commemorated by name at the holy eucharist—and perhaps a flask of [369]
oil for the lamps and a few grains of incense. Even in an urban parish church the faithful may purchase a sealed loaf at the counter in the narthex where candles are sold, and send it to the celebrant with their diptychs.

It is frequently asserted that the offering of the people disappeared from the eastern liturgies at an early date. One can only marvel at the number of eminent scholars who have been led astray in this matter through failure to distinguish clearly between the offertory procession of the Roman rite and the offering itself. The procession never found a place in the Byzantine rite, which retained the older practice of presenting the bread and wine informally before the commencement of the eucharistic liturgy. So widely-used a liturgical handbook as the late Dr. Srawley's *Early History of the Liturgy* asserts that "the offerings of the people, which consisted partly of bread and wine, out of which the elements of the eucharist were taken, and partly of alms . . . continued in the west longer than in the east".[1] In actual fact the offering of the people has never disappeared from the Byzantine liturgy and may still be witnessed in any Greek village church on the Lord's day.

But even though it be admitted that the offering of the bread and 788
wine makes the ordinary people something more than mere passive 796
spectators at a gorgeous pageant, it may yet be said that from very early 533
times the rightful liturgy of the laity has in practice been transferred to the choir: the common people hardly open their mouths from one end of the eucharistic liturgy to the other. Now it is true that congregational singing as practised in the west is so rare among the Greeks as to be almost unknown. Only on one of the great festivals of the Church's year will the whole congregation take up the melody of some ancient hymn: the paschal anthem *Christ is risen from the dead*, for example, or the dismissal hymn at the Epiphany. Normally those parts of the liturgy which properly belong to the laity are in fact sung by the *psaltai* or trained singers —and this applies even to the responses to the petitions of the litanies.

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[1] 2nd edition, Cambridge, 1949, p. 127. Dom Gregory Dix and Professor Burkitt have already been taken to task on this issue by the Archimandrite Alexis van der Mensbrugghe.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

788 796 533 What, on the other hand, is very common is for the laity to repeat, almost inaudibly, the words of the prayers and hymns of the liturgy as they are chanted by the singers. Not only is this practice very widespread among Greek Christians, it is also officially encouraged, while from very early times only the canonically appointed *psaltai* have been allowed to sing aloud in church. Thus, in a modern Greek catechism, the question:

"Does not the whole of the *laos* take part in public worship?" receives the following answer:

"Yes, it does and should take part; not only by standing reverently and following in spirit what is being done, but also by joining in and softly singing . . . thus to show that it is a lively member of the body of the Church."

In other words, the excellent practice commonly known to the western world as 'praying the mass' is one with which the ordinary [782] Greek Christian is thoroughly familiar. He has never been accustomed to occupy the long hours that he spends in church with 'private' devotions—indeed the expression would be unintelligible to him. It is not only "pious Russians of the middle classes" who (in the words of John Mason Neale) "feel a repugnance to use any devotions but those of the Church".

It is necessary, moreover, to bear in mind that the separation between the Greek *psaltai* and the whole body of the faithful is much less marked than in western Christendom, with its surpliced choirs. The singers are quite plainly members of the congregation: the spokesmen of the whole body of the *laos* amongst whom they stand. They normally wear [292] [369] lay dress; only in an urban parish church will one normally see an *anagnostes*, or reader, wearing a simple black gown. The ordinary singers are indistinguishable from the rest of the people. Indeed, one of the 788 796 things which commonly strikes the visitor to Greece who finds his way for the first time to a parish church is the unexpectedly prominent (some would say obtrusive) part played by the laity in the church services. Very often long stretches of incomprehensible offices seem to be conducted entirely by laymen; the parish priest only occasionally emerging from the sanctuary, and disappearing as quickly after a brief *ekphonesis*, to leave matters wholly in the hands of two middle-aged gentlemen in double-breasted suits, supported by a nondescript collection of young men and boys.

This, to the western mind, curiously prominent liturgical rôle of the lay-singers has occasioned comment in other ages than our own. On the [175] feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury in the year of our Lord 1400, King Henry IV rode out to Blackheath at the head of an imposing array, to

793 number of the students were experienced preachers and confessors from
the provinces, but in the years to come they will normally consist in
874 the main of young graduates of the theological school. The primary
794 aim of this school is to equip priests (and lay theologians) for work in
the dioceses, and it promises to be of the greatest service to the Church
of Greece.

The same building serves as a hostel for theological students who live
at some distance from Athens and who would otherwise be dispersed
in lodgings (though some find a home in one of the hostels of the Zoë
793 Brotherhood). All the inhabitants—theological students as well as those
belonging to the School for Preachers—share a common life, with
874 morning and evening prayers, and meals taken together in the refectory
[177] on the coenobitic pattern. Now that the theological faculty of the
university is attracting students from Ethiopia and America, as well as
from the autocephalous Church of Cyprus, and the Apostoliki Diakonia
is offering generous hospitality to occasional Frankish visitors and a
student or two from the Russian Academy in Paris, this community
is fast acquiring an oecumenical character such as belonged to Halki
in the day of its fame.

The theological faculty at Salonica, as I mentioned earlier, is of recent foundation. Despite the difficulties of the times, however, it is now in full vigour and holds out very great promise to the sorely-tried and understaffed dioceses of northern Greece. It is greatly to be hoped that it will prove possible before long to set up at Salonica an institution similar to that now flourishing in Athens, and combining the functions of a post-graduate theological college and a hostel for theological students from the outlying provinces. Many of these students at present have some difficulty in maintaining themselves for the period of their studies, and comparatively few can be accommodated in the new hostel of the Zoë Brotherhood or in the little hostel maintained for several years in the face of tremendous material difficulties by the Apostoliki Diakonia of Salonica.

793 At present there is an acute shortage of educated clergy in these the
● 369 more remote provinces of Greece. Few dioceses have more than one
priest-theologian and in some *eparchiai* the metropolitan is single-
[783] handed. In such circumstances preaching and the mystery of penance
are inevitably much neglected. Not a few amongst the bishops of these
northern dioceses are advocates of some kind of 'direction' of the
educated clergy which would counteract the prevailing current which

sweeps away so inordinate a number of archimandrites to Athens and 793 its suburbs, leaving the mountain dioceses wretchedly short of trained 369 theologians.

It is interesting to note that the present Archbishop of Athens has recently been moved by the continuing shortage of clergy of all classes in the outlying districts of Greece to conscript from amongst the clergy of the Athens-Piraeus area a 'Sacred Company', consisting of fifty archimandrites, for a 'Spiritual Campaign' (*Pneumatike Ekstrateia*) of a month's duration and covering the dioceses of Didymoteichon, Maroneia (Comotini), Drama, Serres, Siderokastro, Kilkis, Verroia, Edessa, Florina, Kastoria, Grevena and Naupaktos: 393 parishes in these dioceses were without a priest in September, 1951. It may well be that similar campaigns, and perhaps some kind of clerical conscription of a more permanent character, will be forced upon the Church if many of her children are not to be left without adequate spiritual guidance.

It is perhaps needless to add that the reader would be greatly deceived if he should suppose for one moment that Athens and its suburbs afford a refuge for idle drones of archimandrites who have from time to time to be dragged forth from their retreats by a stern archbishop, and packed off to the barren mountain dioceses of Macedonia for a month's hard work. Nothing could be farther from the truth: were there three times the present number of educated clergy in the Athens-Piraeus area there would yet be urgent tasks left undone for want of priests capable of tackling them. The Athenian archimandrite is the busiest of men, constantly in demand, not merely to serve on committees, but for preaching and confessing and real spiritual work.

In the country dioceses, nevertheless, the present situation is still more serious; the shortage of educated clergy is even more acute. True, the position is slightly better now than it was in 1949, when many a [722] diocesan *hierokeryx* was somehow contriving to combine his already arduous duties with those of an army chaplain, and others had had to abandon their dioceses for a time in order to minister to isolated mountain outposts, but it remains sufficiently disturbing. Many a provincial 'saint' is acutely conscious of vital work still neglected, which could be undertaken could he but command the services of a single priest-theologian.

The Metropolitan of Kilkis, for example, charged with the care of 140 scattered communities, had only one priest qualified to assist him [794] in the work of preaching and confessing the people; a priest already

793 burdened with the spiritual care of more than 2,000 children belonging
369 to the newly organised Christian Unions of the diocese and a score of
[794] isolated garrisons, yet contriving somehow to find time to train a group of young men and women to take charge of the village catechetical schools when the time came for the refugees to return to their homes.

Is it any wonder that in such circumstances the shepherd of one of these mountain flocks will sometimes persuade himself that the populous cities of the south have more than their rightful share of the educated clergy, and picture them as a pleasant haven from the chill blasts that sweep his own desolate pastures; a place where university men "tarry out their time, wither away as a flower ungathered in a garden, and are never used; or, as so many candles, illuminate themselves alone, obscuring one another's light . . . the least of which, translated to a dark room, or to some country benefice, where it might shine apart, would give a fair light and be seen over all."

793 Much will depend upon the success of the strenuous efforts now being
871 made to raise the prevailing standards of education among the country
369 clergy and to increase the number of priest-theologians available for work in urban parishes and as assistants to the provincial metropolitans. So far as the village clergy are concerned, the lower seminaries do, on the whole, meet the needs of the present situation tolerably well. The system whereby the pastor of a small rural community is normally chosen by the village elders ensures that the mountain *papas* is a man of good character and reputation, often the natural leader of the community. The Greek country parson has little need of book-learning, and a lengthy academic training would be wasted upon him.

793 With the parish clergy of the towns the position is less satisfactory.
369 The urban parish priest does not always command that universal respect
[554] and affection normally enjoyed by his rural colleague. This is not to say that the clergy of the towns are credited with any of the more spectacular vices. The Greek bishop is not compelled to exercise an unsleeping vigilance to ensure that his priests and deacons do not "being drunk bellow in the streets; or what is worse, in their drink whoop and hollow in the church; or read the church service in a double tone . . . that their upper dress though plain be clean, and not one black and another red; that they walk not in a dronish lazy manner, nor lie down to sleep in the streets; nor tipple in brandy houses and alehouses, nor boast the strength of their heads in drinking at entertainments." Such deplorable failings (though apparently regrettably prevalent in the Russia of Peter the

Great) cannot be said to characterise the Greek clergy of the present day. 793

It is, however, frequently asserted that the town clergy are for the most part ill-educated, worldly, idle, more concerned with fees than with spiritual things; and, while there are, happily, many and notable exceptions to such generalisations, it must be confessed that there is some truth in these charges. The education of many of the urban pastors is woefully inadequate, and a lamentably small proportion of those educated in the ecclesiastical schools—and to whom, one might suppose, the Church would turn in recruiting her ministry for the urban parishes—seem ready to offer themselves for ordination. 369 [871]

This leakage is in part explained by the late canonical age for ordination, but the reluctance of many well-educated men to become parish priests is also due in no small measure to the precarious economic situation of the clergy. "Our diocese", a Greek bishop wrote to me in 1949, "lacks educated clergy . . . no eagerness is to be observed on the part of the laity to attain to the priestly office, on account of the poor, indeed ridiculous stipend which is at present paid to the clergy." Other causes of this lack of eagerness may be discerned in the style of dress, the untrimmed hair and beard, and general manner of life which custom continues to demand of the clergy (and which are often thoroughly distasteful to the young graduate of the ecclesiastical school), as well as in the abundant opportunities open to the lay theologian. It is, perhaps, hardly surprising that the provision of educated priests to serve in the urban parishes of Greece is a matter which in the eyes of the ecclesiastical authorities is of absolutely primary importance at the present time, and which is receiving the most serious consideration. [465] [178] [794]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[P. 1]

CHAPTER 1

THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

Like other countries struggling under the impact of western technology and ideas, contemporary Greece is a land of sharp contrasts. Donkeys with loaded panniers on their backs still jog down the broad avenues of modern Athens oblivious to the stream of automobiles passing them by; and the donkeys' owners daily hawk their wares, with piercing and immemorial cries, to people living in ultra-modern apartment buildings, as well as to others who inhabit the merest hovels, clustered along nar-

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177 row alleys behind the handsome main streets of the city. Simi-
184 larly, in the countryside it is still possible to see groups of peas-
● 369 ants toiling stoopbacked and patient as they harvest their grain
[243] with sickles, handful by handful, while, perhaps in the next
field, an American combine may be observed noisily at work.

The combines and the glistening apartment buildings of Athens are very new; the donkeys and the sickles are older than recorded history. In a very real sense, the central problem of contemporary Greek life is how to close this gap, and bring the old and the new into a smooth and mutually beneficial interrelationship. Much progress has been made in this direction during the past ten years, but stubborn difficulties remain. It will require at least another generation before these difficulties can be overcome, even if peace and prosperity prevail throughout the coming years.

433 Peace and prosperity have seldom visited the Greeks for long,
161 least of all during the twentieth century. Greece was almost
648 continuously at war from 1912 to 1923 and again from 1940 to
1949; and the intervals of peace between these times of crisis were seldom secure. The wealth of the country suffered very severely from both periods of war, but in spite of economic dislocation and widespread destruction of property, the population increased fairly rapidly, from just over 5 million in 1920 (when Greece first attained approximately her present boundaries) to just about 8 million in 1956. Part of this growth was due to natural increase, but about one and a quarter million new inhabitants came to the country between 1922 and 1927, as a result of forcible exchanges of population with Turkey and Bulgaria after the first world war.

563 The effect of these exchanges was to make almost all of the population Greek in speech and sentiment, although two significant minority groups remained: a Slavic "Macedonian" population in the northwest where the borders of Greece, Yugo-

648 1946, United States influence has replaced British, and in 1951 Greece was admitted to the NATO alliance along with her neighbor, Turkey. Greece thus belongs to the free world, yet her geographical position, along one margin of the Communist heartland of eastern Europe, creates a constant threat to the nation's security.

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433 Ever since the second world war the Greeks have therefore had to wrestle simultaneously with the problems of poverty and of political insecurity. Both were old problems in Greek history, but the scale was new – so much so that Greek resources were by themselves quite inadequate to meet the difficulties that loomed large after 1945. Only the delivery of substantial amounts of foreign, and especially of American, aid prevented political collapse and Communist revolution in the years just after the war.

114 This book will try to describe the successes and failures in this struggle, and make an estimate of the prospects for ultimate success in relieving poverty and improving social stability in Greece. Before launching on an account of what has been achieved, however, something should be said about the character of Greek society, with special attention to the points of difference that divide us in the United States from the Greeks.

Life in the Villages

241 The fundamental fact about Greece today is that in spite of
433 the rather rapid growth of towns and cities in recent decades,
● [369] the country still remains predominantly agrarian. In 1950, according to a special agricultural census, rural families com-
[162] prised 4,770,783 persons, or 63 per cent of the estimated total
[434] population of the country in that year. Some of these families
[464] supplemented their agricultural income by seasonal employment in towns or on roads or other public works, and should,
[463] perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers.

[Village Life]

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the guerrillas, even in the south, where landless families existed in many plains communities. The hard times that drove the hillsmen from home, gun in hand, impelled the plainsmen to stay home where there was food. More recently, the revival and improvement of agriculture naturally proceeded furthest and fastest in regions where the soil was reasonably fertile and abundant. Hence, the plains villagers have been able to achieve far better results than the hillsmen from technical and marketing changes. They have property and social status to defend, and know quite enough about Communist agrarian policy in neighboring countries to distrust beguiling words from Communist lips.

The farmers of the plains are therefore not revolutionary, even though they may grumble about present hardship, and envy others better off than themselves. They have seen quite enough of the violence and suffering which revolutions, or attempted revolutions, involve. The hillsmen, too, have suffered, and do not love violence for its own sake. But, unless I am much mistaken, they remain potential revolutionaries.

Town Life

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Just as the combine and the sickle join in uneasy partnership to harvest the wheat fields of Greece, so also in the towns an age-old style of life is set side by side with a few completely up-to-date factories and the most modern urban amenities. The juxtaposition in an urban context is no less awkward than in the country.

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Particularly in the north, where Turkish times are still within living memory, in towns like Jannina or Kozani, one can see streets where artisans pursue their trades in little shops just as their predecessors have done for centuries. The old medieval principle still holds, whereby shops dealing in the same goods

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Town Life]

cluster together, so that one may find whole rows of silver- 443
smiths' shops in Jannina, or streets of cobblers in Kozani. The 369
market square, where peasants from the surrounding villages bring their products for sale once or twice a week, constitutes a vital part of every town; street peddlers with their donkeys or pushcarts are everywhere. So are policemen, shoeshine boys and waiters, who will bring little cups of Turkish coffee into any office or house when summoned from the ubiquitous *cafeneions*. Great trucks and buses, often sadly dilapidated, are a promi- [493]
nent part of the urban scene, and, except in Athens, they outnumber passenger cars.

The daily rhythm of life in a Greek town is quite different 512
from that familiar in the United States. People rise early, al- 369
most with the sun, and the streets in the early morning present a lively scene, as the women buy food and other household supplies and men start their daily work. As the sun mounts the sky, [461]
the streets become more deserted, until in early afternoon only a few idlers can be seen hugging the shade in the coffee shops [513]
or along the curbs. Shops close and everyone goes home to eat and sleep. By late afternoon animation returns, though it is less intense than in the morning, since many offices (including government offices) function only until early afternoon. Then with the cool of the day, about 7:30 or 8 o'clock, the streets come fully to life. Everyone who can walk comes out for a breath of air. Dense crowds move slowly through the center of town, talk- [584]
ing and window shopping. In the main square, the young people form small groups and walk round and round, the boys in one direction and the girls in the other, thus assuring each a maximum opportunity to observe, ogle or snub the opposite sex. This is how courtship begins, and the process lends a certain vivacity to the evening. Then, by 9:30 or so, everyone goes home, lights go out and the town goes to sleep until the morrow's sunrise.

[Town Life]

621 Even in Athens-Piraeus this pattern is observed in many of
369 the neighborhoods into which the two cities divide. The majority
of Athenians live in suburbs which date back only to 1923
and the years immediately after, when tens of thousands of
refugees from Asia Minor crowded into the town. Many of
these communities have a strong corporate sense of their own,
and live in much the same way as the smaller provincial towns
[513] already described. In the central part of Athens, however, life
pursues a rhythm more or less like that of any big European
city except that here, too, the midday siesta is rigorously observed.
Also, new suburbs, inhabited by professional people and
employees, have in recent years grown up farther from the center
of town; here little of the community spirit of the older
suburbs is to be found, and life rather resembles the dormitory
belt of a big American city.

369 The superabundant leisure so characteristic of village life is
517 also apparent in the towns. *Cafeneions* are numerous and nearly
275 always the sidewalk tables are well filled with men who obviously
have no pressing business, if indeed they have any business
[435] at all. Street corners, curbs and squares are also occupied
by the poor, who cannot afford to pay for a seat by ordering a
coffee, even though a modest 2½ drachmae (7 cents) will confer
title to a table for an entire morning.

369 Every considerable town has a fringe of unemployed and
464 semi-employed inhabitants, many of them migrants from villages
166 who have come seeking some sort of job to supplement
[434] the inadequate income from their family farms. Such persons
can always go back to the village if need be, where at least they
can have a roof over their heads and something to eat. Even
when a man has been successful in finding regular employment
in a town, and makes his home there, he often continues to
maintain a connection with the village from which he, or his
[602] father or grandfather, came. Family ties are very strong in

[Town Life]

Greece, far more so than in the United States, so that a cousin 369
or uncle who has set himself up in town will expect to help his 464
relatives to find a footing in town when they attempt to make 166
the escape from the land, and will also expect to be received 602
back into the family if dire necessity should ever compel him to abandon his town career. Family ties of this sort provide a bond between town and country, extending to the second or even the third generation.

The psychological relationship between town and country is, 369
however, subtle and complex. A peasant regards a man who has 829
no land as something less than a full man; at the same time, 186
most peasants envy what they feel to be the easier, richer and 423
more stimulating life led by townsfolk, and especially by Athenians. Town dwellers, characteristically, regard themselves as far more intelligent, better informed and more civilized than the peasants. Yet elements of peasant outlook still survive among them, particularly the burning desire to own a house and a bit of land on which to plant a grape arbor and raise flowers or a few vegetables.

In town a man's most important relations are with outsiders, 369
while in the village, relations within the family and a circle of 437
relatives dominate daily life. In town, people must buy and sell 609
every day, and the market relationship is shot through with antagonism, 571
since it appears that in any immediate situation one [602]
party's gain is the other's loss. Prolonged bargaining – typical of any purchase, even of vegetables in the street – expresses this attitude; and the chicanery and high markups generally characteristic of Greek business are a consequence of the same spirit which sees in any outsider a legitimate victim, to be fleeced if possible. In village life, where market relations are [602]
merely occasional, mutual help and cooperation within the family circle provide the matrix of daily living. To be sure, outside the family circle, Greek peasants can be just as ruthless as

[Town Life]

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437 Greek townspeople; the difference is that townsmen must deal
609 constantly with outsiders, whereas the peasants do so only occa-
[571] sionally.

[574] This contrast lends a profoundly different timbre to town as against village life. In the countryside, a foreigner is treated as an honored family guest, and is often hard put to it to avoid abusing the hospitality of people who can ill afford to be generous. In towns, also, a foreigner is courteously received, but he will be cheated in small ways all the time. Prices tend to double when he appears on the scene, and if his tips, for services real or imaginary, are not far above the ordinary Greek level, he will be made to feel stingy.

369 Another marked characteristic of Greek town life is the sharp-
463 ness of the line drawn between the manual and non-manual oc-
555 cupations. A secondary school education is the open sesame to
871 a white-collar job, and a man who has achieved that level of
461 education will not dirty his hands if he can help it. Otherwise he would seem to surrender the status so hard-won by his years in school. One consequence of this attitude is that skilled workmen and technicians are sometimes hard to find. Anyone in a position to afford an education will try for an academic course, preparing him for the white-collar class; a technical education which could only perpetuate a close connection with machinery and manual labor simply does not appeal to an ambitious boy. Even engineers are very prone to prefer a desk job to work in the field; and in the field they not infrequently dress in city clothes and supervise from a distance, where mud and other unpleasantnesses can be avoided. There are signs that these at-
[178] titudes are weakening in the younger generation, but they are still very strong.

471 The disdain for manual labor is perhaps part of a more gen-
554 eral social scheme of values which puts the rentier at or near
461 the top of the social pyramid. To own land or buildings that will
[427]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[p.85]

CHAPTER 3

THE VILLAGES

Since most of the people of Greece still live in villages, peasant life constitutes something of a base level for Greek society. Pressure of population is felt first and most acutely in the villages. Peasant boys from land-hungry villages are driven to seek a livelihood in the towns, thus creating a pool of unskilled but eager labor which deeply affects the conditions of life among the urban working classes. Moreover, agricultural products are the country's major items of export. What happens in the villages therefore fixes limits upon the general prosperity and social stability of the entire national community. It follows that the best criterion by which to measure the impact of Amer-

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[464]

369 ican aid programs on Greek society is to examine what has been
433 accomplished in a few typical villages, for only after the agrar-
x 178 ian problems of the nation have been somewhat relieved can
there be much expectation of enriching or improving urban conditions.

621 Two general dividing lines separate the villages of Greece.
184 By far the most important is the contrast, explained in Chapter
[433 1, between hill and plain, that is, between food-deficit and food-
surplus rural communities. A second general distinction is be-
423 tween those villages that underwent radical redistribution of
x 178] land after World War I, and those where patterns of landownership have evolved piecemeal and privately without any massive governmental intervention. Generally, villages of the first type lie in the plains of the north, while all hill villages, and plains villages south of Thessaly, fall into the second category. In view of these important differences, it is necessary to study at least one village from each of these groupings.

621 Another point of distinction is the degree to which traditional
184 patterns of village life underwent change during the past ten
x 178 years. Some villages, whether by accident or thanks to intelligent and energetic leadership within the village, were able to undertake quite radical changes and profited very greatly from new techniques of agriculture. Others stayed generally within traditional frames. Still others were able to make only halfway satisfactory changes in old customs and techniques. It seems wise to try to illustrate different degrees of adjustment and improvement, first among plains villages, then among hill villages; and in each case to begin with an example of slight change and conclude with an example of maximally successful adjustment.

621 Before turning to an account of what particular villages have
631 done, however, it might be well to say something about village
578 leadership, and the relations between villagers and officials of
the national government. Until 1951, the villages (and larger

[Villages of the Plains]

×178 of older peasant customs. The dowry has always been a part of
582 marriage customs in Greece, but it used to be relatively small
583 and easily within the means of the average family. Moreover, not to marry off one's daughters at a rather early age – before twenty-two or so – was regarded as a disgrace. It was felt that something must be wrong, either with the girl or with her parents; that she was running a grave risk of immorality and consequent loss of reputation; and that the parents were delinquent in their duty if they failed to marry her off in the bloom of her youth. Because the new customs run contrary to these older attitudes, a very special tension exists among the farmers of Nea Eleftherohori. They feel it is wrong that their young people cannot marry when they should; they feel even more strongly that marriages must wait until the means of livelihood are assured. This requires the new dowry and land inheritance pattern. But no one is happy with the way the system has worked out, particularly the young people themselves, who see a long and dreary time of waiting ahead before they can hope to start families of their own.

×178 This discontent is compounded by the feeling, which seems
● 369 very strong in the village, that people in the towns have the best of everything: less work, more income; less boredom, more excitement. City standards of dress and manners have made extraordinary inroads in recent years, and aspiration toward a more comfortable and less laborious life is very strong.

×178 Consequently, although by economic criteria the village is
621 very much better off than before, and although the political
669 tensions within the village have sunk back into insignificance,
433 discontent is much alive and near the surface. It no longer takes political form as it did during and immediately after the war, when the Communists appealed to, and found a response among, many of the young people. As long as the majority of families in the village continue to see a path by which they

[Villages of the Plains]

may expect to maintain or modestly increase the standard of 178x
living they have enjoyed hitherto, it is likely that discontent 621
will remain personal and private. As yet, hard work, saving and 669
waiting seem to promise a solution; and with such hope present 433
discontents seem bearable. But if some day the hopes turn out
to have been in vain, then one may expect to see an active
movement of political dissent and revolt appear in Nea Eleftherohori once more.

As compared with Lofiscos, therefore, Nea Eleftherohori is 178x
a good deal farther along the path toward a new social and psychological 621
adjustment of village life. The less spacious economic 433
base from which Nea Eleftherohori started compelled
an earlier and more energetic adoption of new agricultural techniques; 369●
the old-fashioned frame in which the peasant family 241
and community flourished from time immemorial has largely
been transformed or discarded; and city standards have come
in, not so much in fact as in aspiration.

PALEO CORINTHOS

Paleo Corinthos, or Old Corinth, stands on the site of the ancient 621
city, on the isthmus between the Corinthian and Saronic [361]
gulfs. The imposing mass of Acrocorinth, crowned by extensive [172]
and well-preserved Venetian fortifications, dominates the village,
whereas the ruins from classical times are comparatively
inconspicuous. The modern town of Corinth lies on the shore
some five miles off, and has taken over the commercial functions
once centered in the ancient city. Until very recently, Old
Corinth remained the mere village it had been in Turkish times.

It is, however, a much larger village than either Lofiscos or [162]
Nea Eleftherohori. Its population was officially reckoned to be
1,530 in 1947; by 1956 the figure had grown to 1,850. This
growth was only partly due to natural increase, for the village [166]

Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

were enrolled in the village primary school because boys from 178x
neighboring villages were in attendance. Within Kardamili, I 621
was told, almost every boy goes through the first two years of 873
gymnasium. Even without the final two years in Kalamata there
is a chance, though not a good one, of finding a clerical job
somewhere outside.

The other aspect of the adjustment characteristic of Nea 178x
Eleftherohori – postponement of marriage through the dowry 582
system – is less advanced in Kardamili, but seems to be coming
in. Dowries are rising, I was told, and even a man who owns no 583
land himself may now ask a wife to bring him 2,000 okes of olive
oil – the equivalent of several hundred dollars. This is a far cry
from the huge sums expected in Nea Eleftherohori by a young
man who is to inherit land; but what is significant is that before
the war such demands were not being made in Kardamili. In
those days a landless man would expect no more than a nominal
dowry.

Village statistics did not show very convincingly any decrease 621
in the birth rate, however. The decrease in numbers born no 161
more than corresponded to the decline in the village population.
Moreover, the decrease in deaths was more rapid than any [744]
change in the number of births – owing, mainly, to the elimination
of malaria – so that the rate of natural increase of the population
had actually risen between 1947 and 1956. So far, it
would appear, the villagers have not felt it necessary to change
their family customs very profoundly. Migration, facilitated by
education, has sufficed to relieve intolerable conditions. The [582]
more drastic step of postponing marriage has not become generally
necessary.

In poor villages deeper into Mani, these processes have gone 178x
much further. In one that I visited only briefly, Yerolimini, I 166
was told that "no" young men are left in the village: all have
gone to seek their fortunes in Piraeus, where this village has 369

x 178 established a sort of colony of its own. Girls have been left be-
166 hind, to pine as old maids, or else to marry some boy from one
[369] of the even poorer villages high in the hills – boys who are pre-
[427] pared to come down and cultivate the olive trees belonging to
the families of the absent young men in return for a share of
the crop.

647 One of the grievances that other Greeks have against the Maniotes (as people from Mani are called), and against the Peloponnesians in general, is that they dominate the civil service of the country. There is some truth in this complaint. The
[665] population of these parts has never quarreled with the powers
[186] that be; the people are nearly all royalist and conservative. And
they cultivate, to a degree remarkable even among the Greeks, a clannishness which leads them to help one another as against natives of other parts of Greece. The gendarmerie, for example,
[625] is recruited in disproportionate part from among Maniotes, and
the same is true of several other branches of the governmental service. It is, therefore, a bit easier for a person from this section to get a government job than it would be for a man from another part of the country. Villages like Yerolimini make the most of this fact. It looks as though Kardamili, a bit belatedly, is attempting to do the same. But one cannot help wondering what will happen when the graduates of Kardamili and Nea Eleftherohori and of hundreds of similar villages begin to compete for positions in the government. There can hardly be room for them all.

x 178 If these six villages were well chosen, if their reactions to the
433 difficulties of the last few years in Greece represent widespread
phenomena and not merely local idiosyncracies, then it seems clear that neither American nor Greek official policy has been able to do much to solve the problems of the hill villages. If a peaceable solution is to come, it seems probable that it will

Boeotia

which relatives can sleep. Even so, however, since private 758
rooms are apparently unknown, there are always other patients 743
to talk to.

The family has especially important social and psychological 571
functions in Greece. Therefore, the presence day and night 156
of family members in the hospital fulfills the latent function of emotional support. Such support is essential for Greek patients, because they feel useless and unwanted whenever an illness prevents them from fulfilling their customary roles in the household. When the family members can also care for a patient in the hospitals much as they can at home (e.g., bring and cook food for him and, if necessary, even feed him) his sense of isolation and strangeness is further lessened.

A characteristic attitude of the Greek villager is a suspicion 757
of other people's motives and actions.[9] He believes that
people are not trustworthy and are more likely to cheat one 759
than not. The opportunity for constant family conferences to
check on the doctor's treatment of one's illness is considered 828
a necessity. Once again, the presence of at least one relative 743
at all times during a hospital stay assures the patient that he
has someone nearby watching out for his interests and keeping 156
an eye on the possible chicaneries of the doctors and nurses. A physician we interviewed mentioned as one of the reasons for permitting a relative to stay with a woman throughout an entire confinement, the fact that the visitor could then act as a witness. She would be able to testify to the new mother and to the other members of the family that the doctor had done his job properly. The doctor himself did not seem to feel that such a point of view reflected in any way on his integrity, but simply took it for granted.

Pros and Cons of Hospitalization

What, then, are considered the special advantages of 743
hospital care which impel the Greek villagers to incur the
great expense and inconvenience of hospitalization? There is, 554
of course, recognition of the fact that the doctor is almost 369
continually on call in the hospital and the added sense of
security this brings. For childbirth, there is no question but 844
that the villagers believe that the doctor will do a better job. 759
He knows more than the midwife and professional knowledge
and skill is highly valued. But, I believe, what is of com- 593
mensurate importance is the latent function hospitalization fulfills in the perpetual rivalry for prestige among village families. Hospital care is believed to be the sophisticated, urban way of caring for serious illness and childbirth. Hospitalization therefore can enhance family prestige. It is not uncommon for one or two sons of a village family to be educated sufficiently to obtain a white-collar job in a provincial town, in Athens, or even to be educated for and to practice one of the professions. The village girls, whose fathers can provide large enough dowries, marry a city or a town man whenever they can and so acquire husbands who are not village farmers. Since, in Greece, the family continues to act as a unit for some purposes even though its members are scattered over the city and several towns and villages, the

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[9] Harry L. Levy, "Property Distribution by Lot in Present-Day Greece," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 87, 45-46 (1956).

Boeotia

urban members of the family regularly visit the villages. They have high prestige and are strong advocates of urban ways. They stress the superiority of urban and town doctors over the doctors who travel through the countryside on horseback to treat the villagers. If urban or town doctors are to be consulted during an illness and their care is then needed, hospitalization is the only answer. The result is that childbirth and the care of serious illness at home has come to be associated with low social position and low income, hospital care with high social position. 743 554 369 844 759 [593]

This description of hospital care would be incomplete without some more detailed discussion of the specific disadvantages of such care to the villagers. The expense is a major element not only because cash is scarce and long hospitalization may use up savings; indeed, it sometimes requires the sale of land. It has importance also just because the payments are made in cash, and cash must be saved by the Greek villagers for a daughter's or a sister's dowry. Every time the family's economic resources are used for other purposes it delays the marriage of the daughters. This causes considerable anxiety and leads to some sense of guilt on the part of the patient, and of resentment, not always suppressed, on the part of the family. A less acute, but nevertheless, real disadvantage of hospitalization is the increased burden of work it places on those left at home. This also occasions guilt feelings on the one hand and resentment on the other. Finally, the necessity for dealings with doctors and nurses adds to the number of role relationships which the villagers regard with suspicion. The family, in its own view, is therefore confronted with yet another occasion in which there is a threat of loss of *filótimo* (the Greek version of the oriental "face"). Constant vigilance, they believe, is necessary to see to it that the hospital personnel do not succeed in outsmarting the village family. All of these disadvantages are consequences of serious illness, in any case, but they are much intensified by hospitalization. 743 152 [511] [583] 743 828 152 156 759

The evidence indicates, however, that these anxiety-producing consequences of hospital care are substantially outweighed by what are consciously and unconsciously felt to be its advantages. However, I believe that without the compensating sense of familiarity and continued participation in family relationships which the small Greek hospitals afford, the disadvantages of hospitalization would be overwhelming. 743

Attitudes of the Doctors

What is the attitude of the scientifically trained doctors to the hospital conditions described? They are well aware of the fact that their hospitals do not conform with the standards they observed in Athens and in other urban centers. Some of our doctors were apologetic about their own small institutions. They complained about the inability to keep regular consulting hours and the fact that therefore patients were constantly overflowing the waiting rooms. They said, however, that there was no help for it, because the villagers could not possibly manage to get into town at any regular times. They also complained about the many relatives in attendance on their patients, and said they sometimes got in the way. They pointed out, however, that their patients were uneducated villagers for the most part and would be too miserable under any other conditions. Being Greeks themselves, they were, 743 759 [369] [758] [181]

[p. 26(B)]

Boeotia

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has been evolved willy-nilly by these doctors under the diverse pressures of their complex culture.

Future Development

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This is not to say that Greek provincial hospitals will continue their present practices indefinitely. The fact that urban hospitals conform more closely to previously existing American standards and that these form the ideal for the Greek doctors has already been noted. What is even more interesting is that, as the villagers become familiar with hospital care, in the provinces, they are sensitized to the reports of their urban relatives about hospital conditions in Athens. They are told that these more modern institutions provide bedding, and serve food from hospital kitchens. They, themselves, have learned that bringing food from home, and cooking in the hospital, are severe drains on family energies. The result is that they are beginning to complain about the poorer facilities of the provincial hospitals, and are talking of demanding more services: services which, had they been forced upon them in the early stages, would have made the hospital a strange and repellent place.

One may hope that the development of hospital practice in Greece does not reach the heights of impersonality and isolation of patients characteristic of the majority of our own hospitals. There is a growing literature analyzing and sometimes criticizing these aspects of American hospital care.[10]

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[10] See e.g., L. W. Simmons and H. G. Wolff, *op. cit.*, and L. K. Frank, *op. cit.*

/24 cont./
Harvest time is the best season for the lovers to express their 584
love to each other. It is the time for the seasonal rush work at 178
which people help each other. Groups of /25/ people work to- [241]
gether and when returning home late in the evening both boys [476]
and girls sing songs that they compose in which they express
their interest to each other. When parents do not agree on the [533]
proposal of the son for a certain girl, the only way to get away [832]
with it is to decide to run away with the girl. [583]

The breaking of these holy traditions the older men of the [369]
village think is due to the railroad station which is so close to
the village and the influence of city life. Another important 178
factor that has poisoned the life of their village was the labor 464
that started coming to the village for work. During the tobacco
and opium crop years when labor was needed, the village at some [249]
seasons doubled its population with the addition of foreign labor.
These people brought in short dresses, hats, silk stockings, high [291]
heel shoes and European dancing. With the passing away of [535]
these crops due to depression years the labor left the village but
their influence stayed behind especially among the young. The [623]
priest, the teacher, and the "Gerousia" of the village tried hard
to drive them away but all in vain.

The younger generation found a better way to give a solution 178
to their heart's desire when their parents /26/ objected. Young 583
men will help each other in running away with their girls. A
group of them will guard the road from which the girl will pass
either with knives or guns. As soon as she appears they stop her
and put her on the horse with her sweetheart. While the couple
goes to the designated village the rest of the group give a fight
to the opposing party. The young couple appear before a priest
in the other village and perform the religious ceremonies. Then
their return to the village is settled by the friends of the couple.
Cases of this kind are increasing in Megali Vrisi. Centuries-old
traditions that have enslaved the free expression of men are being
torn down and the youth find himself in freedom of self expression.

/66 cont./ 782
are so affected by the circulating stories that they send their 755
patients to /67/ the Saints as their last resort. 776
Crosses and certain signs are carried by strong believers. 778
The evil eye is strongly believed in and special written prayers 751
wrapped up in waterproof cloth hang around their necks. 754
Cleanliness is an asset of the Caucasians and they take weekly
baths and change their clothes. The Thracians, who live more 515
the primitive type of life, never bathe their bodies but only their 184
heads. They still believe that the holy oil which the priest put 851
on them at their baptism is on their body and bathing may wash
it away. The influence of this belief is less among the younger 178
generation and in the near future it may disappear. One would 164
naturally expect more disease and sickness among the filthy
Thracians, but just the opposite is proved by the figures of a survey.
These people do not cooperate so strongly with the doctor and 165
the nurse and still they have the healthiest children, the least
disease and the lowest death rate. The diet of the Thracians is 262
poorer than that of the Caucasians. They seldom cook and eat
mostly raw vegetables, poorly-baked whole wheat bread, but more
/68/ dairy products, such as cheese, milk, and sour milk
(gioghourt).

Their clothing is made out of wool. Men, women, and 291
children, even in the hot summers, wear woolen clothes.

Washing the teeth is unknown among these people, except 515
among those who have had a chance to go to high school or worked 369
in cities. There was one dentist in the nearby city and the area 759
and the city included had a population of 130,000. He could not
make his living in this population and was planning to move to a
larger city and visit the area once a week.

People often think it is a crazy idea to put tooth paste in the 164
mouth and shine the teeth. Their diet of vegetables, and black 515
whole wheat bread keeps the teeth shining and healthy. This does 752
not mean that there are no people with bad teeth, but they are 759
very scarce and the local experienced dentists do the job without
reward.

9:Megas

EH1 Greece EH1

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● 369

/For information on differences between house types of rural and urban areas, and between different geographical areas of Greece, see category 116, pp. 1-53./

9:Megas 1,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

PREFACE

At the present stage of the reconstruction of our country the 362
building of houses is of colossal importance. 369

At no other time, since the reconstruction of liberated Greece 727
began, after the 1821 Revolution, was there such a great opportunity for building activity in the Greek mainland as at present.

The 430.000 destroyed houses in our country, most of which are to be found in the countryside, form 24% of our total number of houses, and the great majority of these have been either totally destroyed or damaged beyond repair.

At the present moment, the attention of all our authorities is focussed on the best solution of the housing in the Greek countryside.

The question is of paramount importance and is much more difficult than that of reconstructing the urban centres where a different way of life allows the application of solutions usually common to all towns, and even to all countries.

But the problem is quite different in the countryside where the «land» factor and the «human» factor, free from the intense influence of civilization, have a direct bearing on the way of life, the methods of living and consequently the types of dwelling. It is for this reason that a great importance should be attached to all the forms of dwellings originating in Greek tradition. In this way we will be able to understand how similar problems have been faced previously by the same people and in the same surroundings.

The present survey by Prof. G. A. Megas, who is already known 114
from his previous works on Thracian, Lemnian and Thessalian Houses,
is the first attempt at a synthetic presentation of the whole problem of 342*
the Greek Popular House.

The problem is not an easy one.

The Greek house has developed through the centuries, under the influence of many civilizations on those physical factors which usually determine its form. The author achieves a global presentation of the problem in conjunction with the similar problems in the countries

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INTRODUCTION*

Greek popular architecture was first systematically studied by the architect Aristotelis Zachos, who examined especially the old «noble houses» of Northern Greece, which constitute the most composite and developed forms of urban dwellings of the post-Byzantine period. One of the rules drawn from the studies of this memorable man is that the developed form of urban houses has always its foundation, as regards the general disposition, in the architecture of the farmers' dwellings; consequently the primary form of the houses of Jannina (and correspondingly of the other urban centres) should be sought in the houses of the Epirus villages and of the other villages of Northern Greece [1]. 114 342* 369

Professor An. Orlandos was the one who also mainly studied the urban houses of the last Byzantine years and of the subsequent period.

The popular house in its simplest form, the rural form, was first viewed and studied, in its internal division and composition, by an artist, Mrs. Anghеliki Hatzimichali at Skyros, Roumlouki, Ikaria, Samos and Villia. Late D. Loukopoulos, at the same time, gave us a good description of the houses and household utensils of Aetolia.

The present writer, while serving in the educational centres of Thrace in 1922, had the opportunity to study the rural house of the Hevros area, but the publication of his survey on the «Thracian House» was delayed. 114 342*

Further systematic research of the popular house followed by the

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* This survey was originally compiled for announcement at the 3rd Plenary Session of the International Commission on Folk Arts and Folklore, which met in Paris on 1-5 October, 1947. The original form of this announcement is maintained in the present publication.

1) **Ar. Zachos**: Ἀρχιτεκτονικὰ Σημειώματα — Ἰωάννινα (Ἠπειρωτ. Χρονικά, Vol. 3 p: 298). Cf. also conclusions of my book Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις, 1916 pp. 75 and 108.

introduced under the direction of the Rockefeller Foundation. In 178
the thirties, the dictator Metaxas introduced a number of changes by 177
fiat, which ran counter to Greek values, but many of which were
accepted gratefully by people wearied of political dissension and lack
of leadership. World War II, with its displacements and destruction [727]
and enemy occupation, the work of UNRRA and the Greek War
Relief, and more recently, of the POS agency of the ECA, have
all been agents of change.

There are many kinds of Greeks. The million or so Greeks who 184
came from Turkey and Russia in the twenties differ from the so-called 177
"old Greeks". The city Greeks consider themselves very different 369
from the peasants. There is a vogue for peasant handicrafts but not
for peasant attitudes. Urban Greeks like to take on the ways of [262]
foreigners, to use the products of technology, even the processed
foods of technology. Many French and English words are used in [192]
their speech. They take on the attitudes of the Western World, using
clocked time in business and living a life relatively pressed for time, [805]
adopting to some extent the Western scientific approach and objective
external limits, instead of the more animistic approach and the body-patterned
limits of traditional Greek culture. There are lectures here [544]
on health and hygiene, on child care and co-operation and nutrition.
In Athens, the music and the drama are excellent, and in line with
Euro-American developments. There is rapid transportation. There [575]
are many associations based on foreign patterns: the YMCA and
the YWCA, the Girl Guides and the Boy Scouts, football groups and
hiking groups. There are foreign attitudes about travel: people go [484]
to tour the country or the world, instead of going to visit a relative
or a family friend or a miraculous shrine. The difference reaches
its greatest intensity as between the educated Greeks and the peasants,
who, though literate, have no high education.

People of different regions have a different way of life. The 184
mountainous terrain, the absence of easy communication except coastwise, 186
differences in dialect and local history, and, most of all, the extreme [487]
personal independence of the people, have fostered tremendous
variation from place to place. To the world at large, a man may be
a Greek, but to other Greeks, he is a Macedonian, an Arcadian, or
an Epirot. More than this, he comes from a particular village of which
he is very proud and for whose honour he competes with other
villages. In the United States, Greeks from one village, such as Mani,
have organized themselves in a nationwide organization. People from
one small island speak of the people of the neighbouring island as
queer or ill-mannered. This is as it should be; in Greek culture it is
good for everyone to be different or, as the Greeks put it, to be
individually formed.

The differences are there but the similarities are more basic. The 184
Athenians, working by clock time, strain at their bonds, and do not 369
805

184 allow time to dictate to them in private life; and Athenian newspapers,
● 369 announcing the hour of the lecture, have to remind people that it
[805] is important to be prompt at such affairs. When they deviate from
[177] old Greek ways and values, they often do so with awareness and with regret, and the deviation is not profound.

VIEW OF THE SELF

156 Foremost in the Greek's view of the self is his self-esteem. It is im-
554 possible to have good relations with Greeks unless one is aware of
577 this, the Greek *philotimo*. It is important to pay tribute to it, and to avoid offending it, or, as the Greeks say, molesting it. Everyone has his *philotimo*, as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer being which is respected, not position in the world or achievement. On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior
[643] nor inferior. Any Greek bootblack is equal to the king, to whom he may refer familiarly as *coumbaros*, wedding sponsor, until some political agitator points out to him that the king is not Greek by descent, and therefore does not merit loyalty or respect as an equal. This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or interpersonal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work, are not cast in the mould of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo*.

156 On the *philotimo* also rests Greek nationalism. A man may be
619 ignorant and poor, but when his country is threatened, it is his right
and privilege to shed his blood on the altar of Greek freedom along
186 with every other Greek, whatever his district, however wealthy or
577 educated. Again, he shares with every other Greek a common glorious past. A small island, speaking of its illustrious sons, lists the New York chiropractor of today next to the philosopher of 2,400 years ago. A Greek, speaking about his culture, makes statements such as: "The Greeks have been hospitable since the time of Homer." Even learned treatises, such as a paper on present-day medicine, often begin with the glorious work of the ancient Greek thinkers. This is what each Greek esteems in himself, what constitutes his *philotimo:* his personal being, his status within a family, village, district, and, second to none, his Greekness.

156 The Greek *philotimo* is easily bruised, or molested; and a Greek
195 addressed in a completely objective manner, or hearing himself or
577 his way of life described in harsh scientific terms, is greatly offended. Where an American journalist or scientist, writing about his culture, feels the need to be objective, to uncover the facts, a Greek presents

461 They worked at their own shoeshine booths, or their own fruit-stands
183 or restaurants; they took on unfamiliar occupations such as cooking,
rather than submit to an employer.

TIME

805 Greeks "pass" the time; they do not save or accumulate or use it.
And they are intent on passing the time, not on budgeting it. Although
[369] city people say that this picture is changing, that they are now made
aware of the need to use time, the attitude is still widely prevalent,
even in the area of private life among the urban groups.

805 The clock is not master of the Greek: it does not tell him to get
512 up, to go to the field. In most villages, in spite of recent changes, the
461 peasants still get up at sunrise or dawn to go to the fields, and return
at sundown. The day is made for work. At night women visit and
gossip; men join them or go to the coffee house; there is story-telling,
and ardent political discussion; and as for any work done after dark,
[369] "the day takes a look at it and laughs". Wherever there is no law to
the contrary, a man opens his store in due course, not by the clock;
however, in the cities he now functions under clocked time because
he comes under government and union regulations. Even in the
United States, though conservative Greek business men have adapted
their business life to the time of the clock, in their private life and at
social gatherings they function irrespective of the clock.

805 It is distasteful to Greeks to organize their activities according to
external limits; they are therefore either early or late, if a time is
[796] set at all. At church the people are not impatient while waiting for
Mass to begin; and the church fills only gradually. They know when
to go to church; yet when a foreign visitor inquires as to the time of
a certain Mass, the subject creates a discussion; and eventually the
answer will be something like: "Between 2 and 3." And when Greeks
[514] who follow their traditional ways invite, they say, not: "Come at
7 o'clock," but: "Come and see us." To arrive to dinner on time is
an insult, as if you came just for the food. You come to visit, and the
[369] dinner eventually appears. Among urbanized Greeks, this custom
[514] now seems burdensome, and there are many cartoons on the subject.

[552] The dinner is not planned to appear at a predetermined time; and
the housewife does not cook by the clock. She tells by the smell or
the consistency, or the colour, or the resistance against the stirring
spoon; or the passing of time is gauged by the intervening activities.
Conservative Greek women in the United States, even after a residence
of many years, banish from the kitchen the interfering clocks which
[146] are introduced by their American grandchildren. Greek men and
women work expeditiously, as a rule, but do this best at their own
rhythm; any need to hurry is external and interfering; it introduces

fuss and disturbance. Efficiency can usually be found when it is not 805 461
a conscious end.

To introduce an awareness of time into a meal is particularly abhorrent 805
to Greeks, though this has to be done where factories set time 269
limits. Dinner is served when it is ready, and without regard to 252
efficient consumption. The fish is not fileted, the nuts are not shelled,
the fruit is not sliced. The eater will spend a long time removing
infinitesimal bits of flesh from the head of a small fish. All this is
part of the process of eating, which is more than the naked act of
consumption. He will end his meal with an orange which he will
peel with virtuosity, leaving the peel in one piece; to consume an
orange in the form of juice is to take all the meaning out of the act.

Greeks in the city, in some circles, find the need of hurry entering 805
their lives. They are not at home with it. For the Greek traditionally, 195
to work against time, to hurry, is to forfeit freedom. His term for [269]
hurry means, originally, to coerce oneself; and a visitor arriving out
of breath may say: "I have hurried," but the form in which the word
is more often used is "Don't hurry." One does not admonish another [855]
to coerce himself, and a mother does not constantly ask her child
to hurry up, unless perhaps she is following the new books on child
training which say that a baby must not be allowed to set his own
pace. But a Greek has other linguistic ways of expressing expeditiousness.
There is the gentle hint: "Won't you make speed?" There
is the reassuring "I have finished," meaning "I am coming to the end
as fast as I can," and there is the urgent call for help: "Arrive!"

There are many clocks and watches in Greece now, both in the 805
city and the village. Watches are an important part of a man's trappings, [405]
and of a girl's adornment. Clocks are necessary to complete [301]
the furnishing of a house. It is not essential as a rule that they keep [355]
good time, or that they run at all. If they are in good running order,
and are in use, their function is one of reference; they do not shape
the household life. They give information and satisfy curiosity; they
do not tell the wife that it is now time to start cooking or serve the
meal. However, there are exceptions to this, particularly among the [855]
few mothers who follow the child training directions for rigidly
scheduled feedings and bedtime. Villagers speak of hours and minutes,
but these are merely references to the passing of time, rather than its
measure. Visitors, asking how far it is to the next village, find that
"five minutes" may mean half an hour or two hours, but they find
that the answer "A cigarette away" does provide an accurate measure. [804]

In spite of the prevalence of timepieces, the church bell and the [202]
school bell, and even a cannon blast, continue to have active functions
in calling adults or children to pre-arranged gatherings or communal
village work. Even in the cities, people are called "Englishmen"
when they turn up on the dot at meetings or appointments. People
often arrive an hour late to an appointment to find that the other

normal diet. Her relatives should see to it that her days are calm 843 and happy, and that she is surrounded by pictures of beautiful scenery and beautiful people, so that her baby will be beautiful.

Pregnancy is pictured here as a period of joyous anticipation. In the morning, after the fourth month, the mother is awakened by her gambolling embryo, who is saying to her, "Wake up, Mama; don't be in a hurry; I am coming gradually and constantly." She takes care of her breasts, massaging them and elongating the nipples, thinking of her baby. She prepares the layette, embroidering the pieces, caressing them and showing them to her visitors, taking joy in them.

Throughout her pregnancy a woman is expected to eat everything she craves. She can knock on any door where she smells cooking food and ask for a "smell". The satirist reporting on the Court of Petty Offences describes a case where a man complains that his neighbour has been pregnant almost steadily for four years, and that her pregnancies are too great a drain on his purse; the judge advises him to move to another location. The case is unusual, but not far-fetched.

There are pre-natal clinics as well as well-baby clinics, maintained [943] by the state in the cities and provincial centres. Midwives are trained 844 in a state institution and work in close co-operation with obstetricians. 759 In many villages, however, there are no trained midwives available, and there is recourse to the "wise woman". The manual, *For the Mother*, gives a list of things to be prepared for a home birth; but [369] many women in the cities, when they can afford it, prefer an obstetrician and a hospital delivery.

Childbirth is an occasion of great importance. The mother has 844 something of the Madonna about her now, and is idealized by all, and particularly by her husband, who offers her a second courtship at this time, bringing her special sweets and ornaments. The word *lecho*, describing her through her lochial period, is emotionally charged. Traditionally, a *lecho* is bedridden for eight days, and is under special 846 regulations for the first 40 days. She may not go out until the "40 days" are over, and then she goes first to church. In some areas, no one is allowed to enter the house after sunset, until the 40 days are over.

Greek babies are swaddled except in very rare cases where a com- 854 pletely foreign manner of upbringing is followed. The newest manuals 856 suggest half swaddling for the three months, that is, swaddling only of the trunk of the body, with legs and arms free. But this much is at any rate considered essential for a straight and firm back. In Athens [369] there is a range of swaddling; simple people often swaddle completely for at least three months, but may leave the baby's arms and legs free by day after the fortieth day. In the village, the old swaddling is practised for the most part, along with the newer ways. Traditionally the baby is swaddled all over, until it is a stiff bundle. Each knee is straightened out; in many regions, each leg is wrapped separately,

854 and then the two are wrapped together; the arms are pressed against
[856] the sides and then the swaddling cloth is wrapped tightly over all.
Swaddling is imperative to make the baby grow straight, tall and strong; most of all to prevent it from becoming crooked.

As we have mentioned, traditional and scientific opinion agree that the baby must never be held nestling in the crook of the arm until it can sit up by itself. The gesture of mother love is not that of the curved arms. Even an unswaddled baby is held like a long stiff bundle against the body within an imaginary swaddling band. In villages, babies are often carried in slings, lying stiffly against the mother's hip and swinging with her walk; or they are carried standing in the sling against her back. The Greek cradle is a swing, which can be moved near to where the mother is working, so that she can pull the rope to rock it. At night it is put beside her bed. The pediatricians inveigh strongly against its use, considering that it spoils the baby, urging the use of bassinets and cribs.

853 It is important that the baby be breast-fed; in fact this is taken for granted. According to the child care manuals, it is extremely rare for a mother to have no milk, and slightly less rare that she have not enough milk. The city pediatricians find it necessary, however,
● [369] to make impassioned pleas for the mother's own milk, pointing out the dangers incurred in engaging a wet-nurse, the criminality towards one's own baby, who has an inherited right to his mother's milk, and the crime against the baby of the wet-nurse, who has been left in the village without a mother. Women are reminded that the great Homeric mothers, Hecuba and Penelope, suckled their own children. Some factories have baby nurseries, mainly to enable mothers to nurse their own children. When supplementary feeding is needed, it is to be given with a spoon, lest the baby find the rubber nipple
[262] easier and refuse the breast. Asses' milk is recommended as nearest to mother's milk; cow's and goat's milk are recommended next to this.

Traditionally, the baby is given *glykanisso*, anise water, and camomile the first day, and is allowed to suck the colostrum the second day. Pediatricians urge that all ingestion should begin with suckling and that no other food be given. Babies are to receive no solid food until the sixth or even the eighth month. Nursing is recommended until the fourteenth month, or even up to two years; and the two year
[862] period is traditional. Weaning is gradual; pediatricians as well as tradition recommend the smearing of bitter stuff, perhaps quinine, on the nipple, or the offering of sweetened milk. Nursing need not
[843] be interrupted for a pregnancy and, in fact, may be good for the growing embryo. Juices of every variety of available fruit are recommended at three or four months, as well as strained vegetable soups. Traditionally, the baby joins the family at mealtime as soon as he can sit up; he is allowed to eat of the family meal, given choice slowly and carefully. At first, hard crusts and bones only are allowed,

so that fragments will not lodge in his throat. The pediatricians urge 853
against this practice. They also urge rigid scheduling of feedings.
The behaviourist principles of child rearing fit into the value of
firmness, the feeding schedule falls in with the training of fortitude,
and is introduced in the name of self-discipline, as well as for giving
the mother freedom, that is leisure and freedom from encroachment.
Few mothers, however, fall in with these schedules.

Toilet training is not mentioned in the two current manuals on 863
child care. Mothers report that they begin training for urination at
five or six months. Training for the bowel movement does not come
until the child can sit by himself. Help in learning how to speak is 856
suggested and described at length, but none for walking. Greek [868]
mothers do encourage their children to walk, however, and a folk
rhyme says that a baby, "lest it be shamed," takes to the wall and
walks at seven months. The manuals devote much space to character 867
training; obedience is taught first, almost from birth; it is the parents' [855]
task to mould the character of the child, to be firm and unyielding.
Mothers are urged not to be indulgent or overprotective.

The manuals devote about a third of their space to illness and home 863
care. Under illness are listed sleeplessness, enuresis, thumbsucking, 753
night terror, lack of appetite. Enuresis is said to come from irritation
of the urethra, thumbsucking to begin around the fifth month from
irritation of the gums.

In recent years, mothers have been urged to spend more time with 854
their babies and to do more things for them. Among the urban well- 182
to-do this means that mothers are urged to bathe, feed, and suckle [369]
their babies themselves. For other groups, this would mean a displacement;
the children are usually with the mother, working with
her and sharing experience with her; but to give them her undivided
attention she would have to change basic attitudes, the accepted place
of the child within the family and his assumed share in all its functions;
and she must reorient the entire system of roles within the family.

The mother apparently takes no delight in the naked baby, in 854
touching its skin or watching its movements when freed from the
swaddling cloth. Traditionally the baby, like the adult, is never naked. [291]
The baby's bath is not a special occasion of delight. In her lullabies,
the mother shows no delight in any part of the child. She speaks of
the joys of gardens, flowers, herbs and trees, but most of all, she tells
of the rich clothes and adornments she is ordering from strange lands.
She dreams of her daughter's wedding and her son's education. To [789]
the visitor, the baby consists of arms and legs; she says, first making
appropriate allowances for the evil eye: "How his arms and legs
have grown!" The mother coos and signs to her baby and smiles a
special smile; she kisses his hands, she holds him in her arms. She
calls him "My little gold, my little angel, my little bird, my little love";
she uses no terms derived from the sense of taste, unless she is a refugee

264 594 titbits, additional dishes, or special table arrangements. It is an occasion not to be treated lightly. Everyone down to the smallest child is present, and sits at the table throughout the meal. Everyone crosses himself at the beginning and the end of the meal. A blessing is called upon the meal, and absent members are remembered at this time. To quarrel at the table would be like "quarrelling in Church". Food is one aspect of this total situation, but it is not the entire end of the meal; and dinner is much more than food. Breakfast is not a meal but a light snack for individuals. The true family meal comes after [461] one's day's "work" is over. Where people work until 2 p.m. and then stop for the day, as in offices in Athens, there may be two family [369] meals a day; but the family meal is usually the evening meal.

264 574 The meal is the supreme medium of hospitality. All hospitality involves the offer of some food—a spoonful of preserves, coffee, brandy, nuts, fresh fruit, according to locality and time of the year. The meal goes beyond this. Visitors helping to re-establish refugees in their devastated villages report that the peasants kill their only hen for them, and fill their pockets with the few nuts they have. To invite a friend to dinner and take him to a restaurant is an insult, even in Athens. Restaurants are for foreigners and those who ape their ways, and for those unfortunate travellers who have no relatives in the city. There are also eating places known as kitchens, where men who work too far from home can get a home-like meal. A group of friends on an outing or out for a dance may also eat together, incidentally, but this is a different matter.

146 261 855 Traditionally, food is not nutrition. Food is good, not good for you. In the cities there are at times articles published on nutrition. The mothers read maternal and child care manuals which mention and describe nutrition, and perhaps they read the book by Dr. Katsigra on Food and Life, which tells them that all Greek food recipes destroy food values and transform the food into poison. Very few other Greeks are aware of these writings, or mention such [369] things in conversation, however. In the cities where mothers have been taught to stress nutritional values, to feed their children by schedule, and to keep them from the social communion of the family meal, feeding problems are well-known; in the villages such problems are not reported. Children there are not urged to eat, and are not tempted with special foods: "Why should children not want to eat? Isn't food good?" If they do not like the eggplant dish particularly, there is always bread, and no one has ever heard of a child who does not like bread.

262 264 Greek meals are traditionally simple. There is always bread, and every mouthful of food must be eaten with a bite of bread. Greeks at foreign tables find it very difficult to face food, even potatoes and spaghetti, without the traditional mouthful of bread; apart from distaste, there is a feeling of guilt at eating food without bread. In the

In The

villages the bread is brown and home-baked, and it may form the 262 complete meal, with olive-oil for dipping. If there is any other food, there is only one dish, containing a variety of ingredients which usually make for balanced eating through the day. The hot bean dish *(fasoulada)* for example, contains olive-oil, parsley, onions, tomatoes, and other vegetables, and, eaten with brown bread and perhaps olives and cheese, provides a complete nutritive meal, except that the proteins are not animal ones; and the writer finds it fit for a king. The Greek meal is not structured climactically. It may end with fruit, or a leaf of lettuce, or cheese; this, however, is nothing to look forward to but, at most, puts a period to the meal. It is the bread, the "food", that is the point of the meal. Greeks in foreign parts, who have taken on rich foreign desserts, often top their meals with a bite of bread. [177]

In the provinces, very little meat is eaten. Through the week it is served, if at all, as a small ingredient part of one of the special vegetable dishes—dishes which are named after the main vegetable they contain. On Sundays, or when guests arrive, or on other festive occasions, there may be roast and potatoes; these are baked together and constitute the whole meal, with the ever-present bread. Fish is eaten in the villages wherever it is available. Processed fish—salted, dried, canned—is a great favourite, and salted roe, made into a "salad" is greatly enjoyed, and forms a regular item during Lent. Milk is [272] consumed in the form of cheese and *yaourti*, a custard-like cultured milk; little is drunk. But the milk used is that of sheep and goats, which, according to Kaloyereas, is richer in fat and protein than cow's milk. In the villages, fruit and vegetables are eaten plentifully when in season; dried fruits and nuts are eaten, olives, cheese while it lasts, and a variety of legumes. There is skill in cooking, and since variety within a meal is not valued or demanded, the simple meals are much enjoyed, and wealthy emigrants, who have succumbed to the luxuries of the American meal pattern, often long for their peasant meals.

In the cities, the Greeks have learned to eat meat and to drink 262 more milk. Here cow's milk and a taste for it have been introduced, 369 and in the country around Athens and Salonica, the peasants raise [272] cattle. Foreign packaged goods are in vogue in the cities, and people, [231] in their desire to take on American ways, eat foods which are contrary to all Greek principles of texture. Oatmeal is eaten by young children and invalids under one of its American trade names, Quaker Oats, pronounced unrecognizably. As *vromi*, it is food for animals, and the word is reminiscent of "stench". According to Dr. Katsigra, much foreign fruit is also imported, and this has led to a demand for perfection in the appearance of the Greek fruit eaten; this means that the Greek fruit for the city is now picked unripe. City people eat mostly white bread. In general, city food, which conforms in externals more closely to the list of the nutritionists, actually seems to be inferior to that of the provinces. And city health is reported to have been

262 much below that of the provinces, even at a time when the villages
369 were suffering from the depravations of the civil war.

Lent does not affect nutrition significantly. Where olive-oil is not
262 allowed, olives are; where fish is not allowed, fish roe is. In the provinces,
785 not much meat is eaten, even before Lent; in the cities many
796 of the people fast only on a few of the important days of Lent. However,
now that mothers have been taught the importance of giving
their children daily milk, Lent does have an effect in this area; milk is
forbidden during Lent, and children have to fast at least during the
[177] latter part. Unicef has made successful efforts to persuade mothers to
give their children milk during this period. It achieved this with the
co-operation of bishops who drank milk during Lent to show mothers
that, if the cause was good, it was not a sin to drink milk; only one
archimandrite refused to do so, afraid to take on the responsibility
of possibly leading the people astray.

262 Greek holidays each have their appropriate food. It is essential
511 for the welfare, the religion, for the Greekness of the people, to have
this food at that time. At a time when the Bureau of Welfare was set
[746] up to function only during emergency, it offered funds for the indigent
at holidays for the purchase of the indispensable festive foods. If
Greeks have any money to spend at such a time, these foods have
a priority over everything else.

ATTITUDES UNDERLYING ACCEPTANCE OF CHANGE

178 Greeks do not place a value on unlimited progress; what they want
185 is the better than the present, or than the known. Modern Greek has
[196] lost the superlative of ancient Greek. To express *the best*, one now
says, *the better of all the others.* And this expresses what is actually
wanted. The American says, "the sky's the limit", but the Greek wants
to reach the ceiling instead, something that he can touch and know
ahead of time. The rest is a dream; he speculates about it as he
speculates about what he would do if he were President of the United
States; and he uses the subjunctive, not the future.

In this way, the attitude toward change is related to the place of the plan in Greek life. On the one hand, that which is a plan to an American, organizing and inciting to action, is a dream to the Greek, leading to quiescence or to oratory. The Greek mother of an American adolescent is shocked to hear her daughter express as plans, in the future tense, what she herself expressed in the subjunctive of the dream. Plans introducing agricultural and other change are formulated by foreign or foreign-trained technicians who say: "When I get to be . . . I shall do . . ." for people who say: "If I were . . . I would do"; there is a chasm between these two views of life.

On the other hand, the plan based on the non-experienced, on